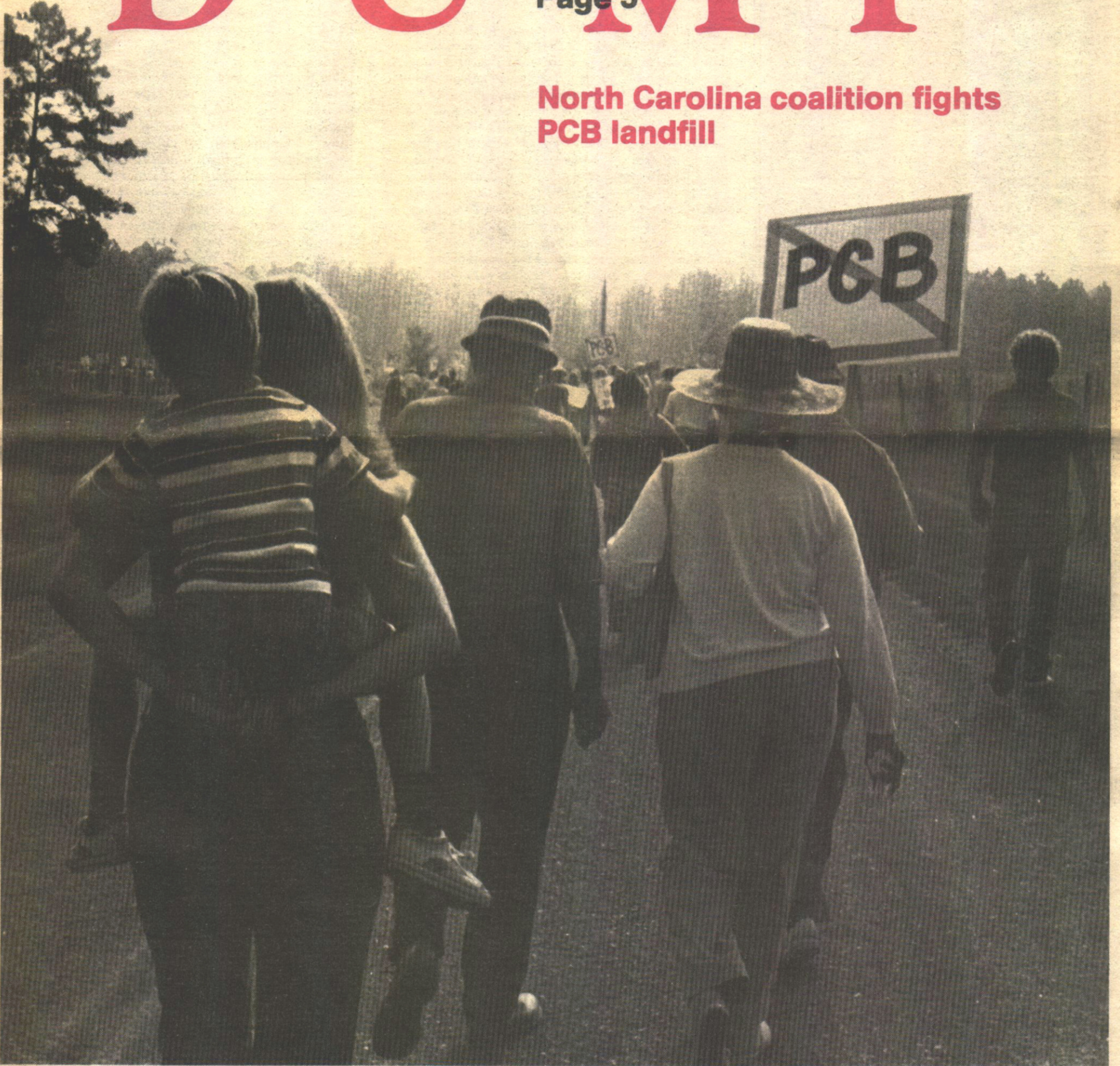


Don't **DUMP** On Us

Page 5

North Carolina coalition fights
PCB landfill



Alex Charms



A Mideast Perspective

By Arie Lebowitz
Page 11

THE INSIDE STORY



John Martin

Auto content bill: a good investment?

By David Moberg

There is no question about the devastation now being suffered by the auto industry and its workers. More than one-third of the people employed by the auto companies alone during their last good sales year—well over 250,000 workers—are now unemployed. That doesn't count the parts workers, steelworkers, tiremakers and related workers who push the total laid off to three-quarters of a million. The industry has been operating at the lowest level of capacity utilization registered for any industry since statistics started in 1948. Car production has hit lows not seen since recessions of 30 years ago, when there were 75 percent fewer drivers and cars on the road.

As the list of plant closings among just the Big Three automakers soared to 30 over the past two years, imports reached record levels of 32 percent of the market and U.S. manufacturers began scheduling the importation of several million engines and millions of transmissions, ball joints, transaxles and similar parts per year within the next few years. The imported content of U.S.-assembled autos may reach 30 percent by 1985 and nearly 40 percent by 1990, one recent study concluded.

To fight this virtual disappearance of an industry that now accounts directly or indirectly for about 6.5 million jobs, the United Auto Workers (UAW) has persistently campaigned for the Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act. It would require companies that sell cars in the U.S. to produce some part of them here. The union's persistence and the pressures of high unemployment in an election year have yielded 224 co-sponsors in the House. The bill was just reported out of the energy and commerce subcommittee, and last week hearings on it started in the ways and means committee.

Despite silence on the bill from the auto companies and opposition from the administration, it is likely to reach the House floor this term. Its chances of passage are fair there, but its counterpart in the Senate may not even reach the floor, would most likely be voted down and if it miraculously passed would surely be vetoed by

Reagan.

The amended bill now requires any company selling over 100,000 cars and light trucks in the U.S. to include at least 10 percent domestic parts and labor by 1986. For each additional 100,000 in sales, the local content requirement would increase 10 percent to a maximum of 90 percent for those firms selling 900,000 or more. The requirements would be phased in over a three-year period.

Thus Toyota, which sold 714,000 vehicles in the U.S. last year, would have to produce 70 percent of its 1986 products in this country. Similarly, Nissan would have to produce 50 percent and Volkswagen 10 percent—less than it already does. Equally important, General Motors and Ford would have to produce 90 percent of their vehicles in the U.S.

By scaling down the requirements and the penalties in the original bill, the new version makes it easier for foreign companies to comply, but it still effectively keeps U.S. corporate investment for domestic sales in this country. Mazda, for example, could comply with its 70 percent local content requirement by building only one assembly and stamping plant. Even Toyota could qualify with three assembly-stamping complexes and a couple of engine plants, receiving compensatory credits for exporting some of the engines, UAW researchers suggest.

But isn't this legislation just more protectionist nonsense that will keep out the Japanese, reduce consumer choice, drive up the price of autos, pamper the U.S. auto companies and set off a trade war that will worsen the economy rather than produce jobs? That's the position of administration spokespeople, conservative economists, and a few studies, particularly one from the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). But interestingly, the CBO produced its negative conclusions under severe pressure to come up with figures that would not anger the administration, even if it had to violate some of its researchers' best judgment.

Opponents of the bill assume that the Japanese would retaliate against other imports from the U.S. and start a trade war. But where would they turn? Alternative grain exporters—such as Australia, Argentina, Brazil or Indonesia—all have auto content laws, and alternative manufacturers of computers and other high-tech goods—such as France, Britain or other West European countries—have tough import restrictions. Actually, Japanese companies have begun investing overseas in response to pressures just like that brought to bear by the content legislation, but so far most have stayed out of the U.S. If pressed, they would come rather than give up this huge market.

Much of the Japanese cost advantage—which only partly gets passed on to U.S. consumers in lower prices—comes from their management and technology, and with new plants here they should be able to match much of that or even improve their performance. They would pay more for labor, and that could boost average auto prices by 2 to 3 percent.

But the alternative is losing most of the industry—possibly two-thirds by the end of the century—to low-wage countries. Federal, state and local governments would accumulate costs in the tens of billions of dollars with unemployment compensation and other adjustment aid, as well as lost taxes. Individuals would suffer even higher private costs in devastated lives, bankrupt small businesses, declining housing values and devastated local economies. Or it would mean driving down auto worker wages to Japanese, Taiwanese or Singapore levels. But driving down worker

wages would only depress the U.S. economy and the market here for other goods. The goal instead should be reducing the cost of production while improving quality. The local content bill preserves Japanese competition in management, technology and design.

Compared with what would otherwise happen—imports rising to 35-40 percent and foreign outsourcing of components rising to 20-40 percent by 1990—the UAW calculates that the local content law will save or create more than 500,000 jobs by 1986 and nearly 800,000 by 1990.

Self-styled free traders are aghast at the bill. But they forget that the world market, especially in autos, is grossly imperfect, that is, in many ways unlike theoretical models. Dozens of countries have local content laws, import restrictions, government subsidies or outright public ownership, and other policies designed to maintain an auto industry as a crucial part of their economies. Also, the old economic doctrines of "comparative advantage"—I grow sheep and you raise cotton because conditions differ—are undermined when the most advanced manufacturing technology can be suddenly plucked down in an immiserated undeveloped country's labor market.

No one can or should try to escape the internationalization of the auto market. But no country concerned with its industry and employment can lightly abandon its fate to the operations of an unfree market and to the decisions of a handful of multinational corporations that dominate it.

The beauty of the local content approach is that it attempts to combine the best aspects of the competitive marketplace with some national planning over investment. Much of the promotion of the bill by the UAW has emphasized, for unfortunate political reasons, attacks on foreign companies. The union has harped on the unfairness of Japan, which maintains a variety of informal trade barriers to U.S. products, import restrictions on many agricultural goods and its own local content laws on aircraft manufacture. This opens up the danger than an alternative conservative strategy to push for fewer trade restraints by Japan might be substituted for local content.

Reducing barriers to trade on the whole is good. Yet any nation trying to plan its economy may also need to regulate the influence of the international market on it. The question for the U.S. is not simply creating the opportunity to sell more goods to the Japanese in exchange for buying their cars. It is more fundamental: Does this country need and want an auto industry or even an industrial sector? True, not every country can have every industry, but the U.S. is an enormous market and can ill afford to abandon all of its industry—including one with so many multiplier effects—to low-wage countries overseas. Likewise, even if high-technology industries grow rapidly, they cannot absorb both the expanding work force and millions of former auto, steel and parts workers.

Unlike many other labor-sponsored pieces of trade legislation, such as the steel trigger price mechanism, which has raised U.S. steel prices without insuring investment for modernization of the domestic steel industry, the auto local content bill is investment legislation. It redirects Japanese capital to its new market here. But equally important it keeps American capital, at least for building cars and trucks for the U.S. market, in this country. The alternative—even if there is soon a booming recovery, itself unlikely without resurgence of the auto industry—is more rapid deindustrialization of America.

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Acting Feature Editor

Virginia Holbert

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Acting Assistant Managing Editor

Jay Walljasper

Staff: Emily Young, *Editorial Assistant*;
Jay Walljasper, Emily Young, *Books Editors*.

Correspondents:

Pat Aufderheide (Cultural), Timothy Lange (Denver), David Mandel (Jerusalem), James North (Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419 Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612, (415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

Washington Bureau: John Judis, (301) 942-8588

ART

Co-Directors

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors

Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher

Elizabeth Goldstein

Controller

Bruce Kaplan

Circulation Director Advertising Director
Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Staff: Grace Faustino, *Bookkeeper*;
Leenie Folsom, *Assistant Circulation Director*; Adelia Price, *Circulation Assistant*; Beth Maschinot, *Classified Advertising*; Bruce Embrey, *Development Assistant*; Paul Batistas, Dennis Morgan, Alan Simmons, *Fulfillment Assistants*; Kathleen Gallagher, *Office Manager*.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright © 1982 by Mid-America Publishing Co., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. This issue (Vol. 6, No. 37) published September 29, 1982, for newsstand sales September 29-October 5, 1982.

IN THESE TIMES

Key Illinois race tests Reaganomics



Douglas Stevens, a 30-year-old personal injury and workers' compensation lawyer and a political neophyte

country needs to be turned around, and not like Reagan did. I voted for him. I'm sorry. I'd be the first to admit it. It was a mistake."

Not everybody in the district—which favored Reagan by 60 percent to 33 percent for Carter and 6 percent for Anderson—has come to Gocher's conclusion. But enough have so that G. Douglas Stevens, a 30-year-old personal injury and workers' compensation lawyer and a political neophyte, has a fighting chance of upsetting Michel and dealing a symbolic as well as substantive blow to Reagan's political power.

The same problems in other districts give liberals hope that as many as four Illinois Republican seats in the House may turn Democratic this fall. One strong contender is a bright, imaginative and unabashedly liberal young attorney, Lane Evans, running in the district to the north of Michel and Stevens against an arch-conservative state senator, Kenneth McMillan, who defeated moderate Republican Tom Railsback in the primary. Two other Republicans—opposed by more centrist Democrats—considered vulnerable are Daniel Crane, brother of prominent right-winger Philip Crane, and Paul Findley, both in south central Illinois.

Stevens gains not only from the rotten economy and growing doubts about Reagan's economic policies but also from other factors. The new district includes 60 percent new territory and 40 percent new population, undercutting the value of Michel's long incumbency. Both camps judge the Republican edge at 54-46 percent, which Stevens says is a departure from the previous 62-38 percent advantage.

There is nearly universal condemnation of the president's embargo of pipelaying machinery and tractors for the Soviet gas pipeline, which canceled \$85 million in current Caterpillar orders and much more in the future and may account for as many as 1,000 layoffs.

Also, although Michel has accumulated his political debts and allies over the years, he has—in the words of one Republican—picked up barnacles as well. Tight-fisted and hard-pressed central Illinoisans still resent Michel's defense of a congressional pay raise: "I'm not a two-bit politician."

Now that times are tough in a town known as a "pocket of prosperity"—where a local union business agent told his members in the last election that "I've done my job well enough that you guys can afford to vote Republican"—many voters are griping that Michel has never done anything for the district.

Running against Washington.

Stevens is hammering away at that theme and doing a version of "running against Washington." He answers people who figure Michel's experience is valuable by saying, "A freshman representative out there fighting for this district can do more than someone fighting for the president or his party."

In a jibe at the pipelayer embargo—which Michel opposed in discussions with the president but then reluctantly backed

when Reagan announced it—one of Stevens' first radio ads concludes, "Sorry, Bob, you don't represent Poland. You represent Peoria."

Ironically, Michel's success in winning the Republican leadership in 1980 may have worsened his problems. "Michel has been out of the closet and visibly doing lots of things we've accused him of in the past," said Wayne Schmidt, education director of the Caterpillar UAW local, which, like many other unions, is working harder and more cooperatively this year than on any past congressional race. Michel's voting record is one of the most conservative in a right-wing state Republican delegation.

But because of his position and those votes, Michel has been able to pile up a campaign war chest of more than \$250,000 so far—three times what Stevens has raised. Scanning Michel's Federal Election Commission filing is like reading through the Fortune 500. Stephens hopes to capitalize on Michel's money by running against him as the tool of out-of-state oil companies and other giant corporations. One particularly embarrassing contribution came from Panhandle Eastern, the source of natural gas for Central Illinois Light Company, which just announced 100 percent rate increases for many customers. Stephens, unlike Michel, opposes full deregulation of natural gas prices.

Late last spring a poll for the National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC) showed Michel leading Stephens by only 42 to 33 percent, with 25 percent undecided. It was a surprise to the pros, since Michel had been considered invulnerable. Indeed, Stephens won the Democratic primary with a tiny write-in vote after no one had filed for the race by the deadline.

Michel was apparently shocked as well: He soon opened a campaign office for the first time in more than 20 years and began stumping the district. Then, in early August, he started pouring his ample funds into TV and radio.

"Michel's work since the primary has helped him," NCEC Director Russ Hemmenway concluded from more recent polls. "There is a slightly larger gap between the insurgent and the incumbent."

But NCEC, not inclined to waste time on candidates without a chance, still thinks Stephens can win if he gets money, if campaign gaffes hurt Michel rather than him, if the economy is still bad and if there's a good turnout.

Turning out voters.

Unions and community groups are registering new voters and will work on turnout at the polls. Local unions—brought together to fight a prominent union-busting firm earlier this year—are hoping to draw 20,000 people for a rally a few days before Reagan comes to town to promote Michel. Two craft unions have called all of their members to get them registered. Black groups are trying to boost voting among Peoria's 17 percent black population. Republicans like State Sen. Prescott Bloom from Peoria also are concerned about their party's studies showing a far greater fall-off in voting among Republicans than among Democrats in off-year elections. Some ultra-conservatives may even stay home, upset with the 1982 tax hike.

"He can't run away from the president and Bob never would," Michel aide John Shad says. So Michel's campaign stresses the drop in inflation and the start of decline in interest rates. But he portrays himself as both favoring a big buildup of the military and as arguing with Reagan that he wanted too much. And he runs like crazy away from the pipeline embargo.

Farmers may be a crucial vote. Generally conservative, free-market people

Continued on page 6

By David Moberg

PEORIA, ILL.

IT WAS PUMPKIN FESTIVAL TIME again in Morton, a comfortably affluent and decidedly Republican suburb of Peoria, the central Illinois city of 125,000 best known for its sprawling Caterpillar factories and for jokes about its residents as traditionally unsophisticated rubes.

The King Pumpkin, weighing in at an astounding 205 pounds, had its appropriate place of honor in the bank window. The kids were crowding the elephant ears confection stands and the rides. Teenagers were crowding each other.

But despite the gaiety and the evocation of rural, small-town tradition and virtue, there's a pall hanging over the pumpkins this year. Three years ago unemployment in the area was 5.3 percent. Now it is 18.2 percent, above the state average but lower than that of many other downstate cities that rely heavily on manufacturing and farming—both of which are deeply depressed.

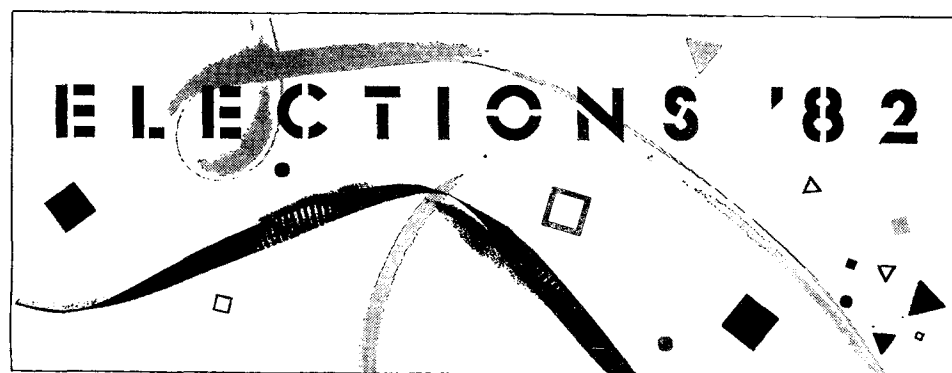
A couple of years ago Caterpillar employed 24,000 workers. Now it is down to half that, with 8,000 formally laid off. Earlier this year Peoria lost its fifth largest employer, the Pabst brewery. But the devastation stretches everywhere: Tiny Havana, home to 4,400 people, has lost three factories and a job from 200 to

1,000 workers in the past couple of years, turning it, like so many other downstate centers, into a near ghost town.

Janet Gocher, an animated, middle-aged blonde woman, sat at a table in the Veterans of Foreign War tent enjoying a beer with a group of friends. As a Republican, she would normally have counted on casting her vote this fall for Robert Michel, the 13-term member of Congress from the area who has won prominence for putting together the Republican-conservative Democrat alliance in the House on behalf of the Reagan program.

But not this year.

"We need somebody younger than Michel," she said. "I'm for new ideas. I'm a laid-off Caterpillar worker, and I feel Bob Michel has sold the state of Illinois down the tubes. Any man that thinks he's so important he deserves a raise without taxes, he's out for himself and not for the little or middle person. I feel ill at ease with the ways things are going. This



IN SHORT

In Sweden, Palme Sunday

By returning Olof Palme and his Social Democratic Party to power last week, Sweden's voters have signaled a willingness to take the country's half-century experiment in democratic socialism one step further. Although many observers claim that it was the nation's economic woes under conservative rule that handed the victory to the Social Democrats, the election can still be taken as an approval of Palme's controversial plan to gradually shift Sweden's corporations toward workers' control. During the campaign Palme proposed using payroll and excess profits taxes to finance wage-earner funds that would buy shares in Swedish companies. Some business leaders attacked the plan as a "revolutionary" attempt to create an Eastern-European style republic in Scandinavia and have vowed to fight it. But with the Social Democrats winning 166 seats in the 349-member National Assembly and the Communists maintaining 20 seats, there seems little that opponents of the plan can do right now—at least within the political arena.

Freeze, baby, freeze

During the presidential primary races, news commentators always call Wisconsin—with its mix of urban dwellers, rural folk and numerous ethnic groups—an ideal cross section of America. If that is indeed the case, then there is no question that most Americans want a freeze on nuclear weapons. In a recent primary, an overwhelming 76 percent of the state's voters approved a measure urging President Reagan to negotiate with the Soviet Union on curbing nuclear weapons. The referendum carried all 72 counties—dairy country and resort regions as well as industrial cities and Indian reservations.

Voters in Brattleboro, Vt., and Austin, Texas, also approved freeze resolutions by wide margins. The Austin vote was a particularly interesting case. When the city council refused to hold a referendum on the freeze because it did not pertain to local issues, the Austin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign went ahead with an election of its own. They raised \$10,000 and enlisted 650 volunteers to hold a freeze referendum on the same day as a city bond vote. In each of the city's 109 precincts, people were faced with two polling booths—one for the official election and another for the freeze referendum. Over 14,000 supported the freeze, compared to 3,500 who opposed it.

Political trafficking

The highway lobby is at it again, reports Paul DuBrul. As *In These Times* went to press, the pave-'em, save-'em boys were trying to slip through a bill that would create a special slush fund to finance the costly unfinished urban segments of the interstate highway system. The most notable beneficiary would be New York City's four-mile, \$4 billion Westway project. In the Senate, a bill has been proposed that would put a cap on the dollars cities could receive if they cash in their designated highway segment for mass transit money instead. If these bills pass, major losers would be urban transit riders and rural states scheduled to receive funding for lower-cost, long-distance highways. The person who can stop all this is Rep. James Howard (D-N.J.), chair of the Public Works and Transportation Committee.

Something rotten in Denmark

Denmark was the site of a doomsday dress rehearsal recently, as a missile was accidentally fired from a navy vessel. According to Bradford Lyttle, a Harpoon missile with 300 pounds of conventional explosives landed on shore where it destroyed two cottages, started a forest fire and broke windows over a wide area. The explanation of Danish defense authorities was, "For some strange reason, the missile went off." If the accident had happened in the U.S. or Soviet Union, there would probably be no one left on earth to ponder its cause.

Both sides now

Factory worker James Willders—the star of a 1980 Republican TV ad—is back on the screen this season delivering an election pitch for the Democrats. Two years ago he asked millions of Americans, "If the Democrats are for the working man, how come we're not working?" For his effort he received \$3,400 and residuals. But disappointed with the performance of the Reagan administration, he offered his services to the Democrats. This year he says, "I'm a Democrat, but I voted Republican once—and it's a mistake I'll never make again. And I did not get paid to say this." Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.) is squawking that Willders should be paid at union scale for his acting on the behalf of the Democrats. Of course, the Democrats can always claim that they offered him better working conditions than the Republicans—Willders did not have to get a haircut for their commercial or pose with a pack of Lucky Strikes in his pocket even though he doesn't smoke.

—Jay Walljasper



If Chrysler workers approve a new negotiated contract, they'll be making at least \$2.60 an hour less than UAW members at Ford and GM.

Workers face Chrysler pact

CHICAGO—The national bargaining council of the UAW that represents Chrysler workers narrowly approved the tentative contract reached on September 16 by a margin of 51 to 49 percent, suggesting that workers may reject what union president Douglas Fraser admitted was a "modest" contract.

Fraser had said earlier that this contract would start Chrysler workers—who have made three separate sets of concessions to keep the company alive since 1979—on the long road back to parity with Ford and GM workers. But there is a gap of at least \$2.60 an hour in wages.

The two-year contract, which will be reopened after one year on economic issues, restores the cost-of-living adjustment to the same formula as the other companies for three quarters. But Chrysler workers will receive no wage increase or immediate recovery of lost cost-of-living pay.

The contract also sets up a bonus fund that will depend on quarterly levels of company profitability. Workers will share the fund equally, receiving a maximum of around \$160 when profits are good. But those bonuses will not raise the base pay that is used for calculating benefits such as pensions. Following GM and Ford, Chrysler workers will give up the eight-hour Christmas bonus they received last year.

Local union leaders—who were told by Fraser that the contract would be "intolerable" if it weren't for the reopening clause—were reportedly disappointed with a new absenteeism plan that includes harsh punishment triggered by five days of excused or unexcused absences in a period of six months. A joint union-management National Attendance Council will seek out and counsel—or discharge—people who are suspected of claiming unjustified absences because of illness.

Delegates were also upset that the new agreement dropped the old provisions requiring "equal sacrifice" from management, opening the door to salaried pay increases, even though the contract includes review of overstaffing with supervisors by the

company.

With a combination of health maintenance organizations, "preferred providers" and tightening of insurance coverage, the union guaranteed Chrysler savings of \$10 million a year on health care costs. If that figure is not reached, the union will reimburse the corporation up to \$7 million annually out of workers' profit-sharing programs.

"We were looking for catch-up," said Bob Weissman, president of Twinsburg, Ohio, Local 122. "Instead, we got slippage. The rationale was that we know the company is not out of the woods, but the company's business problems have nothing to do with wage costs. It has to do with difficulty raising capital."

—David Moberg

Public radio means business

WASHINGTON—Faced with severe funding cuts that could reduce its federal support by as much as 50 percent, National Public Radio (NPR) executives have come up with a series of moneymaking proposals that could take the "public" out of public radio.

Tom Warnock, NPR's executive vice-president, says public radio executives have been sifting through dozens of ideas for raising money. "The most promising ones involve earning money by going into business," he says. "For lack of a better label, we call these ideas 'new ventures.' It sounds exciting, but it could be frightening because we're talking about things that have very little to do with public radio."

Among those ventures, NPR is planning to use its radio satellite to carry digital computer and sound signals for commercial users. Even farther down the line, NPR is looking to be a pioneer in the development of cable radio. But the ventures that are generating the greatest amount of concern call for increased corporate funding and expanded programming on the national network level. A proposal to offer 24-hour news and entertainment programming to local stations via the public radio satellite worries some station personnel. Said one program-

mer, "Those of us who are left at the stations will just be flipping the switch to turn on the satellite." Some local station managers argue that expanded national programming would jeopardize the original mandate of their stations—a mandate to meet "community needs."

The top brass at NPR say they are being forced into new ventures by "punitive" budget cuts that far outstrip Reagan's funding reductions in other government agencies. Several public radio insiders say the cuts seem designed to drive public radio into the arms of the corporations. Already, heavy corporate funding of public television has earned PBS-TV the label "Petroleum Broadcasting Network."

In the midst of last year's budget-cutting frenzy, NPR signed a six-figure contract with Washington consultant Peter Hannaford, who is now in charge of finding alternative funding for the network. Not surprisingly, Hannaford, who used to be partners with White House aide Michael Deaver, came up with the idea for selling public radio "shares" to corporations. In the long run, this could be the most controversial NPR venture. The network is hoping to generate 50 percent of its revenues by marketing shares at \$250,000 each. They will be sold in whole and partial lots, and their cost will vary according to the time of day in which the corporations will receive an on-air mention.

So far, Hannaford's effort is off to a slow start: only 10 percent of the network goal has been sold. But with rising hopes of an economic upturn, he says, "We've seen some encouraging signs lately." Although NPR has never been independent of political influence, few are looking forward to an increasing corporate role. Says one news director, "It seems we've given up the principle of public radio without a fight."

Others note ironically that it was the U.S. government that imposed a public broadcasting system on Germany and Japan after World War II. Those networks are funded directly by a tax on the sale of radios and televisions, a system designed to insure the independence of the networks from political and corporate meddling. This is exactly the sort of independence public broadcasting has never enjoyed in the U.S. —Michael Curtin

NORTH CAROLINA

PCB protest unites county

By Alex Charns

WARREN COUNTY, N.C.

THE USUALLY SLOW-PACED rural community of Afton in the northeastern section of this state has become the battleground for Warren County residents in their fight against the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the state. They are opposing the dumping of 32,000 cubic yards of toxic PCB-laced soil into an EPA-approved, state-owned county landfill.

The ongoing showdown between authorities and residents—who are vowing to continue blocking trucks carrying the toxic soil—caps four years of state maneuvers to locate a dump site for the 33,000 gallons of PCBs that were illegally dumped on 210 miles of North Carolina roadsides during the summer of 1978. The PCB dumping was ordered by Buck Ward, president of the Raleigh-based Ward Transformer Co.

The PCB spill was the largest in U.S. history. The continuing grassroots civil disobedience actions at the landfill site may soon gain similar notoriety.

In the early morning hours of September 15—while the State Department of Transportation's bulldozers scrape PCB-laden soil from contaminated roadsides and load them on dump trucks destined for the landfill—more than 100 demonstrators gather at the Colley Springs Baptist Church, which is two and a half miles from the landfill. The protesters—black, white, young, old, predominantly country folks from the immediate area (some with family roots in the county going back four generations)—march two miles to the access road leading to the landfill. Demonstrating racial unity reminiscent of civil rights marches of the '60s, they chant, "Black and white together, ain't no stoppin' us now."

Marchers carry signs and banners denouncing "PCBs" and wind behind protest leaders, including Lutheran minister Donald Jarboe, Leon White, the reverend of a local Baptist church and director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, and Ken Ferruchio, president of the grassroots group Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs.

Upon arriving at the access road leading to the landfill, marchers are met by a line of 30 helmeted state highway patrolmen brandishing riot sticks. A highway patrolman warns the protesters to make way for the trucks carrying PCBs or face arrest. White and Ferruchio—after consultation and prayer—continue to walk toward the landfill and are quickly arrested. The troopers begin using their riot sticks to halt the demonstrators who are pushing forward. There is some jostling. Then the protesters sit in the road at the order of march leaders.

The chanting starts up again as the trucks filled with the toxic soil wait beyond a ridge.

The highway patrol moves in and starts arresting the demonstrators sitting in the road. Seventy-six marchers, including 13 teenagers, are led one by one to the state Department of Corrections buses for the short ride to the county jail. The demonstrators do not try to resist arrest. Later, all adults are charged with impeding traffic—a state offense carrying a maximum fine of \$500 and a 60-day jail sentence.

A National Guard helicopter hovers overhead while the remaining 30 protesters watch as 10 yellow Department of Transportation dump trucks arrive. Some marchers—especially several small children—shed tears as the trucks pass. Suddenly, as the third truck rounds the corner onto the access road, Jarboe hurls himself into its path. He is grazed as the truck screeches to a halt. Unhurt, he is then arrested by the highway patrol.

Talking through the window of the

prison bus, Jarboe tells this reporter, "I have five children—that's why I'm here. They [toxic waste dumps] leak. It's a proven fact. Look at Love Canal. Four people in my parish died of cancer last year. If it [the PCBs] gets in the water,

Protesters want to force the state to shut down the PCB dump or at least detoxify the soil already dumped.

the [cancer] rate will go up."

While the politics of the county is Democratic in a decidedly conservative fashion, the PCB-dumping issue has united people of all ages, ideologies and races. Still, Jarboe wants to make clear



Alex Charns

his political persuasions. "I'm not a radical. I'm conservative," he reveals without prompting.

Despite self-ascribed right leanings, statements by Jarboe and other whites reflect at the least the seeds of a populist class consciousness and a resentment born of frustration that many black residents have known all along. "All Governor Hunt wants is industry and money. He's drawing industry into the Research Triangle [a research park outside of Raleigh] with the guarantee of a [Warren County] dumpsite," Jarboe says.

Larry Lubbers, co-press secretary of the Citizens Concerned group, believes the fight has politicized many area residents, allowing them to recognize—some for the first time—the hazards of other types of toxic wastes. Many residents worry that the state may come in later and try to dump other wastes in the buffer zone surrounding the landfill. Prompting this concern is the recognition that the state purchased 140 acres of land when less than 20 acres are needed for the PCB landfill. Also, North Carolina is the nation's eleventh leading producer of hazardous waste. And Warren County, which is close to a major interstate highway, is only 50 miles from the state's largest toxic-waste producing county. But what has really prompted the ire of county residents is the widely held belief that the Afton dump may eventually become the state's toxic waste dumping ground.

Why was Warren County selected as the dumping site? Some residents charge that the selection was racially motivated. The county—which has the lowest per capita income in the state—is 60 percent black and 4 percent American Indian, and has a total population of 16,000. Rev. White, pastor of the Oak Level Baptist Church in Warren County, said from a holding area at the Warren County jail, "It is a racial issue... They chose a black community. They want to experiment on our people."

But White does not see the PCB dump as simply a racial issue: He sees it primarily as a "community" issue. White and others note that once the decision was made to dump the PCBs in Warren County, both blacks and whites started coming together like never before in this county often labeled by some non-residents as "Klan country."

The effect of this bi-racial fight on the lives of some residents is telling. Fifty-year-old Henry Rucker, a life-long county resident, was until recently adamantly opposed to integration but has changed his mind about racial mixing. "It's working now," he says with obvious pride.

Continued on page 6

Four-year PCB journey

July 30, 1978: North Carolinians in rural areas begin to complain that fumes from a liquid substance poured along roadsides are making them sick. Over the next few days reports of other spills in 14 counties inundate the State's Environmental Management Division.

Early August, 1978: The State Health Services Division reports that citizens living near the affected roadways are complaining of headaches, nausea, vomiting and eye irritation as well as rashes similar to those caused by poison ivy. The state announces that the dumped liquid is the toxic chemical PCB.

August 18, 1978: The State Department of Transportation applies a solution of activated carbon and liquid asphalt to the contaminated roadsides—an interim measure designed to prevent the migration of the PCBs. A memo from the Health Services Division is sent to all local health directors. They are instructed to pass on the memo to area citizens. The memo says, "Little is known about the long-term effects of PCBs on human health," and concludes, "We feel that the risk to human health... is negligible or non-existent." A letter is also sent directly to residents by the state warning them not to eat crops grown near the spill or graze cattle

within 300 feet of the site—"to do so could result in PCB residue in meat or milk to qualify them as adulterated under the Food and Drug Law."

Fall, 1978: Governor James Hunt announces that the contaminated soil will be buried within the state rather than shipped to an EPA-approved landfill in Alabama.

December 1, 1978: The state obtains an option to buy 140 acres of land in Warren County.

January, 1979: Fierce opposition by Warren County citizens—led by the Citizens Concerned About PCBs—causes Hunt to temporarily back down. He proposes various alternatives, but the other options are eventually deemed unacceptable to either the EPA or counties where the PCBs would be deposited.

June 4, 1979: The EPA Region 4 administrator approves the Warren County site for the dumping. Lawsuits are filed to enjoin the dump—one by the county commissioners, the other by the Twitty family, which owns land adjoining the 140-acre disposal site.

November, 1981: A federal district court judge grants summary judgment favoring the state in both cases. Both decisions are appealed.

Later in 1979: According to Larry

Lubbers, co-press secretary of the Concerned Citizens group, the commissioners make a deal to drop their appeal in exchange for a redesigned dump (i.e. an extra plastic liner) and the transfer of title to the county of the 120-acre buffer zone surrounding the dump. Lubbers later learns from a commissioner that "they were told to wait [to not notify the public] until the state was ready to move dirt. We heard on TV, May 26 of this year, that the case was settled out of court," Lubbers says. The state's trucks move in to build the access road to the landfill.

May 26, 1982: The state and the EPA announce a cooperative agreement that provides \$2.5 million in federal "Superfunds" to construct the landfill and remove the contaminated soil from the roadsides. The estimated total cost of the cleanup and the landfill is \$2.8 million, with the state paying \$282,633—\$20,000 of the total funds are earmarked for monitoring possible PCB seepage from the dump.

July 2, 1982: In a final effort to legally enjoin the PCB dumping, a lawsuit is filed on behalf of Citizens Concerned and 26 individuals alleging the state picked the site because of the county's high proportion of black residents and its lack of political clout. The court denies attorney Travis Payne's request for a preliminary injunction that would stop the dumping.

—A.C.

PCB

Continued from page 5

Immediately following the arrests of the demonstrators and after the dumping of the first 60 tons of toxic soil on September 15, state officials and the EPA held a joint press conference at the landfill during which state officials assured reporters that the Afton site was chosen because of its superior geology and hydrology, not for political or racial reasons. They repeatedly emphasized that the landfill was "safe."

Bryant Haskins, spokesman for the state Department of Human Resources, told reporters that "this landfill is over-designed. We went over and above federal requirements." He then added, "I would live here."

Frank Rainey, the landfill designer, described the dump as a hole 417 feet by 187 feet with a five-foot compacted clay liner and 30 millimeter-thick plastic cover below it serving as a bottom for the landfill. He said the toxic soil will eventually be covered with earth, then topped with two feet of compacted clay and a 10 millimeter plastic liner. All of this will be covered with one foot of topsoil and then seeded with grass. To determine if PCBs are leaching into the soil, the landfill is equipped with two leachate collection systems to monitor any seepage.

"It is very unlikely that it will leak," said Rainey while at the same time admitting that the dump will not be covered during the six weeks it will take to collect

and dump all the toxic soil. Water accumulation during these six weeks does not concern Rainey because the dump is sloping and he said rainwater will be collected in a holding pond and pumped back into the dump.

At the press conference, EPA officials admitted that the federally required distance between the water table and the landfill bottom is generally about 50 feet. Yet in Warren County, that distance is only 15 feet. But EPA officials explained this disparity by pointing out that the EPA granted a modification when the state agreed to add a 30-millimeter plastic liner to the dump design.

In an open letter—dated September 15, from Herman R. Clark, secretary of the State Department of Crime Control and Public Safety, to Warren County residents—Clark offered assurances that the federal law explicitly prohibits anything but PCBs from being dumped in the landfill and prohibits its cap from being removed after it is sealed.

"In deeding the property to the county, the state placed several restrictions in the deed to prohibit the buffer zone from being used by the county for almost any purpose that would involve human activity. Plainly speaking, the county owns the buffer zone and can prohibit the state from building anything on the 120-acre plot." When asked at the press conference whether the buffer zone around the dump could be used for dumping other hazardous wastes, Clark evaded the question. That, he answered, was an issue for the Warren County commissioner.

PCBs (Polychlorinated biphenyls) were introduced for commercial use more than 50 years ago and were thought to be rela-

tively non-toxic. Valued for their insulating properties, PCBs were widely used in, among other things, electrical transformers, textiles, adhesives, copy paper and plastic food wraps in food packaging, including household items such as bread wrappers and polystyrene coffee cups. The threat to the environment was first detected in 1966. Today, traces of PCBs can be found around the world.

In 1968, 1,200 residents of Yusho, Japan, ingested rice oil contaminated by PCBs and developed oozing eye sores, a severe acne-like eruption, neurological disorders and reproductive problems. In 1971, Monsanto Corp., the sole U.S. producer of PCBs, "voluntarily" restricted its supply to "closed systems." Subsequent scientific research on laboratory animals indicated that PCBs are carcinogenic. Extremely stable, they may take 500 years to break down, allowing the compound to build up in the food chain. Before the federal Toxic Substance Control Act was passed in 1976, there were no federal PCB regulations. The Act now bans the manufacture, distribution and use of PCBs. In 1978, when the North Carolina spill occurred, the state had no law dealing with the toxic chemicals.

Despite continuing assurances by the governor, the state agencies and the EPA that the landfill is "safe," Warren County residents are not satisfied. As testimony to their distress, as *In These Times* went to press 263 people had been arrested in the effort to stop the state's trucks from dumping the PCBs. And this resistance by Warren County residents is likely to continue, if not escalate.

"We're dedicated to non-violent prin-

ciples of rebellion, but we make no pretense that we can control it [the protest] at this end, and we don't believe the governor can from that end," said Concerned Citizens' Ferruccio, adding, "We'll be fighting PCBs or sitting in jail." He said the group hopes that the civil disobedience actions and the generally favorable public response they have generated will force the state to shut down the PCB dump or at least agree to detoxify the soil already dumped.

But on September 21, Governor Hunt, for the second time in the 10 days, refused to meet with protest leaders. Brent Hackney, Hunt's deputy press secretary, said there was no point in discussing the situation because "there are no alternatives."

Alex Charns is a stringer for the New York Times.

Peoria

Continued from page 3

with disdain for social spending and strong Republican traditions, Illinois farmers are ideologically sympathetic to the Reagan program on the whole but personally are taking a beating. Although hog prices are high once again, farmers now face the prospect of being offered \$1.90 a bushel for corn that costs them \$2.20-2.30 a bushel to produce.

Carroll Imig, 43, a grain and livestock farmer who is vice-president of the Tazewell County Farm Bureau, supports Michel and Reagan. He says most farmers in the area lean the same way and know little of Stephens. He blames farmers' problems on Carter's embargo of Soviet wheat, two successive bumper crops and high interest rates. But even Imig strikes a note of anxiety that may, with other farmers, produce a switch on election day.

"A lot of young farmers are literally running scared," he said. "They've reached their limits on borrowing. A lot of them hope some [federal farm] program will be announced. Unless there's some help—getting the price up or low-interest loans—we're going to lose some farmers. I've always been opposed to government intervention and haven't supported farm programs in the past, but the embargo got farmers in this position and that was government, so I could justify something to get us out of this."

Stephens, a short, square and personable son of a Teamster member and organizer from Peoria, has not made a strong case to the farmers, but he has outlined what he calls a "moderate or independent Democratic" position on revitalizing the economy. He contrasts Michel's votes for business tax breaks and against housing assistance, veterans training and youth employment with what he would do.

Describing himself as less liberal than Hubert Humphrey or Ted Kennedy, Stephens shies away from government planning—such as a revived Reconstruction Finance Corporation—on the grounds that he doesn't "want the federal government too involved" in economic decision-making. He favors federal research and job training, and would reluctantly support some trade restriction to protect U.S. industry.

While willing to identify with liberals on environmental issues or the nuclear freeze, he parts company on issues like the right of women to an abortion, which he would be willing to limit to cases of rape, incest and danger to the life of the woman. He says he's pro-defense but opposes the B-1 bomber and MX missiles, which Michel strongly supports.

At the Morton Pumpkin Festival and throughout the district, the major concern is the economy, as the unemployed often find they can't even flee to the sun-belt because they can't sell their homes. "I was raised a Republican and I'll probably vote predominately Republican," Ron Bardoll, 30, said as he relaxed after a ball game. "But I feel confused. I'll stand behind Reagan, but as far as Congress, I don't know. We got problems."

So does Bob Michel.

TRAVEL WITH The Nation FACT-FINDERS



Visit Germany & The Netherlands

Explore The

EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT DEBATE

NOVEMBER 10-21, 1982

Meet with Leading Representatives of the Peace Movement, the Military, Government & Political Parties

(The Tour coincides with German Peace Week, Nov. 7-17)

Package Price **\$1395***

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—History of Fascism: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—War & Reconstruction: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

(*per person based on double occupancy—includes all transportation, lodging and food, except dinner on five open evenings)

The Nation FACT-FINDERS

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

I'm interested in The Nation FACT-FINDERS Tour to Germany and The Netherlands, November 10-21, 1982. (Limited spaces available—reservation deadline October 15, 1982.)

☐ RESERVE space for me.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____. (\$200 deposit required for each person—no penalty on cancellations made before September 20, 1982.)

☐ I'M INTERESTED, send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

ABORTION

Dead end for right-to-lifers

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

IN HIS LAST COMMENTS ON THE recently concluded fight over abortion in the U.S. Senate, President Ronald Reagan got it backward. When discussing why Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) had no luck shutting off a filibuster against his anti-abortion "Superbill," Reagan observed that "they've been divided behind...several amendments, and that's what kept us from bringing this to the floor and getting a determination."

But the legislative weakness Helms' proposal displayed was not the result of internal division among the anti-abortion forces. Rather, the divisions in the movement were the result of their political weakness.

Anti-abortion leaders and strategists have known since the morning after election day 1980 that, despite conservative and right-to-life gains in Congress and especially in the Senate, they were still far short of the two-thirds majority they must have if the Senate were ever to approve any of the versions of their constitutional amendments to outlaw abortion. In fact, the more candid movement strategists admitted privately that they probably did not have a solid majority.

Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), chief sponsor of the main rival to Helms' proposal, admitted as much on September 15 when he withdrew his proposal from consideration and set the stage for the final vote to table Helms' measure. "Though a substantial majority might have supported the passage of [my] amendment," Hatch said bravely, "in all frankness, I do not believe we would have the requisite two-thirds vote at this time."

Hatch's talk of a "substantial majority" was whispering in the dark. No majority for either his or Helms' proposal was ever apparent. In the face of this legislative impasse, the anti-abortion movement has been split for more than a year over the proper strategy for breaking out of it. The Helms proposal wanted to get around the two-thirds majority requirement for a constitutional amendment by bringing a ban on abortion up in the form of a statute, which only needed a majority.

Hatch, on the other hand, opted for



Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) was unable to prevent the filibuster that blocked his anti-abortion "Superbill."

what is known as the "two-step" approach. His constitutional amendment does not ban abortion. Rather, it only establishes that Congress and the states have the right to legislate against abortion. This first step, he argued, was necessary because the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion had made legislation against abortion impossible. Only after Hatch's amendment was passed and

ratified would he and the movement then bring forward a second amendment aimed at outlawing abortion for good.

The internal debate over these two approaches quickly became bitter, and despite frequent announcements through the summer that the divisions had been healed and the movement was again unified, squabbling continued up to the last minute.

This infighting was mentioned during the last hours of debate over Helms' bill by Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.), who led the fight against Helms along with Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.). Packwood said that during negotiations over conditions for debate on the two competing bills, "We were within 10 seconds of a unanimous consent agreement" that would have prevented a filibuster and allowed both measures to be debated for a limited time and then voted on. But at the last minute, the agreement was sabotaged by the objection of one senator—not a liberal pro-abortion senator, but Jesse Helms. "But for that objection," Packwood declared, "we would have had a vote on the Hatch amendment."

As a result of the fiasco on the Senate floor, however, both factions can claim some success. The Helms group, after elbowing Hatch out of the way, succeeded in getting a roll-call vote on his measure, or at least on a filibuster against it, which is good enough. That's viewed as a success because a vote on the record was mainly what they were after—a vote that can be used against liberal senators running for re-election in November.

This was candidly admitted to this reporter by Paul Brown, head of Life Amendment Political Action Committee (PAC), the largest anti-abortion PAC. Brown is a stalwart of the Helms proposal and a bitter enemy of Hatch. Brown issued a hit list of 12 liberal senators right after the 1980 elections and has since been girding up to do battle against them. Much of Brown's fire will be concentrated in the Northeast, where senators such as Connecticut's Weicker and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) are particular targets, along with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Sen. George Mitchell (D-Maine).

The Hatch group, while giving up on a hurried vote in the current legislative session, extracted a public commitment from Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) that he would schedule a full-floor debate on the Hatch amendment next spring. This should give him a chance to make his case in more detail than Helms was able to do. Also he might gain the sympathy of senators who were angry at Helms' strong-arm tactics and the legislative sloppiness of his proposal.

Given such an opportunity, Hatch's amendment may turn out to be the more important of the two, and may bring him back to the helm of the Senate's anti-abortion crusaders. (That is, if he gets re-elected. He is reportedly facing a tough race back home in Utah. But if Hatch loses, someone else is expected to pick up the proposal.)

Continued on following page

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

U.S. global cities shake labor market

By Thomas Brom

OAKLAND, CA

AMERICA'S POST-INDUSTRIAL "global city" arrived at the In These Times bureau here last month when a work-crew literally tore down the corridor walls outside the office door. The owner of the eight-story downtown office building had neglected to tell the tenants he had leased the entire floor to a consulting firm "that would be needing some renovations." Within weeks we were packed and gone, leaving other construction crews in the neighborhood building half-a-million square feet of new office space.

Oakland's building boom—5 million more square feet are on the drawing board—is only one part of the office construction craze that is transforming the Bay Area. In San Francisco, 20 new

office buildings are under construction, permits have been issued for another 15 and proposals made for an additional 35 buildings. The city already has 40 million square feet of office space and will add another 15 million by 1985.

Yet more office space will be added to the region outside San Francisco than to the city itself. There are plans for 70 office and industrial complexes in 10 East-bay communities alone, amounting to 77 million square feet of office space from Concord to Livermore.

Obviously something is happening here that is affecting the entire regional population. And the San Francisco-Oakland area isn't alone. A handful of U.S. cities—most of them ringing the periphery of the country from Boston to Houston to L.A.—have become global corporate headquarters for the Fortune 500. In these dozen cities, the white-collar workforce is typically above 60 percent and is increasing rapidly. Data from the Bureau

of Labor Statistics (BLS) show that in just the past three years the white-collar workforce has moved from 70 to 72 percent in metropolitan Washington, D.C., 61.8 to 65.1 percent in San Francisco-Oakland, 58.6 to 63.8 percent in Denver and 61 to 64 percent in San Jose. And the rush goes on. Houston has 28 million square feet of office space under construction, Denver has 15 million square feet going up and New York builders are putting nine million square feet on the market this year and 12 million more in 1983—all this in the middle of a recession.

"What we are witnessing," says Allan Pred, chair of the University of California geography department, "is a clear new pattern in the social and spatial division of labor in this country. It is both a concentration of corporate control in regional centers and an expansion outward as routine office activity is sent to the suburbs."

Regional clustering.

Dick Walker, a colleague of Pred's at the UC geography department, finds a number of reasons for the clustering of businesses. "First of all, they want access to each other—both for efficiency and to have lunch," he says. "Then there's a definite herd instinct—being where the action is. The buildings themselves are

As corporate control gathers in regional centers, simple office work is farmed out to the suburbs.

corporate phalluses, symbols of power. Finally, capital is still bound to the specialized labor force it needs and will relocate to find those workers."

Much has been made of the supposed dispersal of Fortune 500 corporate headquarters from New York City in the late '70s. The absolute number declined from around 100 to less than 80, but Pred thinks those numbers are deceiving. "Because of merger and acquisition over the past decade, the national administrative control held in New York has actually increased," he says. "When smaller corporations are swallowed up, management is invariably centralized at the parent cor-

Continued on following page

Cities

Continued from preceding page
porate headquarters."

New York City holds the nation's greatest concentration of office activity, with an estimated office space inventory of over 230 million square feet. The BLS reports that Wall Street is now the number one growth industry in the city, followed closely by banking and finance.

The San Francisco-Oakland area is corporate headquarters for 43 of the Fortune 500. The city has the second highest office rental rates in the country, ranking just behind New York and ahead of Los Angeles. The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) reports that 60 percent of the region's job growth in the past decade was in the office industry.

Walker points out that while a structural change in the economy is definitely underway, the business cycle and real estate speculation are also at work. "There is clearly a cycle of overproduction in office building, and we seem to be entering that period now." Office construction set national records for four straight years, but real estate consultant John White of Landauer Associates sees "a prospect of an oversupply developing as early as 1983." Vacancy rates are currently 10 percent in San Francisco—the highest figure in years—and 15 percent in Oakland.

The Bay Area has also been a haven for flight capital from Canada and the Far East. Canadian firms like Daon, Cadillac-Fairview and Bramalea Ltd. have invested heavily, and Hong Kong-based Carrian is financing the four-block Trans Pacific Center in downtown Oakland that will eventually include the tallest structure west of Chicago.

"Hong Kong money, looking across the ocean, does not see that Oakland is still a pit," Walker contends. "But it almost doesn't matter—there's a local Chinatown to front for investors, a com-

pliant city government and proximity to San Francisco. So why not?"

Post-industrial myths.

The raw numbers for office construction and the white-collar labor force seem consistent with the gush of popular reports on "post-industrial" America, where the service sector supposedly predominates and knowledge becomes the governing principle of social life. But the research of several University of California graduate students—and the experience of white-collar union organizers in San Francisco—paints a much different picture.

Barbara Baran of UC's department of city and regional planning found that the boom in white-collar employment in the '70s is leveling off as corporations introduce the "automated office." The new technology has a dual impact, producing higher skill levels and salaries for a few, and lower skill levels for the far more numerous "back office" workers. According to Baran, the results are contradictory: women workers are liberated from patriarchal domination and the work process is socialized, but office workers become more vulnerable to a work pace set by machines.

Kristen Nelson at UC's department of geography is looking at a secondary effect of the automated office—a shift of low-level office work to the suburbs. Among the San Francisco corporations moving clerical staffs to the East Bay are Standard Oil of California, Pacific Telephone, Travelers Insurance and Crocker Bank. Bank of America, Bechtel Corporation and Pacific Gas & Electric have similar plans.

"The companies say they are leaving San Francisco because the rents are too high and the [board of] supervisors restrict development," Nelson says. "But they leave their administrative, financial and sales staffs downtown. What they are looking for in the suburbs is a stable, well-educated, secondary labor market—white housewives. These workers are considered docile, difficult to unionize and

"What companies look for in the suburbs is a very stable labor market—white housewives."

they don't need the money to support a family. A Montgomery Ward's executive told me, 'The suburbs have quality people and plenty of them.'"

George Davis, business agent for Office and Professional Employees Union (OPE) local 3 in San Francisco, knows all about corporate flight to the suburbs. Last month Blue Shield broke off negotiations with the union, vowing to send the remaining 500 claims adjusters to Sonoma, Red Bluff, Ukiah and Merced. The company has already scattered 600 office workers to Chico, Marysville and Placerville, where offices are connected to the home office by computer terminals.

"There's a fear syndrome in San Francisco now. Office workers are afraid to stand up for their rights," Davis says. "The companies are showing people they are willing to pick up and move to find the cheapest possible labor force, and for Blue Shield that's the white working class out in the Central Valley."

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce disputes those charges, although it admits that thousands of "back office" personnel are being moved to the suburbs. The problem, according to the Chamber's Strategic Plan for San Francisco, is city zoning and development limits, particularly in the South of Market area currently being renovated. "Without new construction, we stand the risk of 'gentrifying' the office space of San Francisco, and turning the city into a workplace only for professionals," says John Jacobs, president of the Chamber of Commerce.

That process, of course, is happening anyway. The dispute is really over who will be hired for the thousands of office jobs expected to be added to the area by the year 2000. These jobs—what the Chamber calls "new collar" positions—will mostly be for word processors, key punch operators, hotel workers and clerks. The companies want to leave, but San Francisco residents and trade union leaders want to keep the jobs at home.

"The turnover rate for some of the new collar jobs is as high as 50 percent in San Francisco," complains Robert Hayden, Chamber of Commerce economic development director. "These people have poor language skills, and often don't even show up for work. In contrast, Crocker Bank, which is tapping the housewife market in Contra Costa County, says it's thrilled with the results."

"Sure, it might pay for a single company," comments OPE's Davis. "But it

doesn't work when they all spin off their clerical jobs. Who's going to hire the people locked into the city who need to support a family? The black, white and Latino workers in the city can't afford to relocate in the suburbs. These workers have a right to exist. Ultimately, we will all pay for the job shift."

But in the meantime, San Francisco gets trendier and more expensive by the day. Managers, administrators, professional and technical workers now make up a third of the work force. The number of San Francisco residents between 25 and 35 increased by an amazing 40 percent in the last decade, while the total population of the city declined 5 percent. For the first time since the Gold Rush, more than half the population is single, living in "non-family households." (The national figure is 27 percent.) In the city's public schools, nearly half the students come from homes where a language other than English is spoken.

The result is a highly specialized labor force reconstituted to serve the "global city" corporate headquarters. "Increasingly, office workers will have different interests and a different lifestyle than steelworkers," Walker says. "But you shouldn't confuse class solidarity with organization. If the workers are different, then the white-collar unions—and the San Francisco labor movement—will just have to adapt."

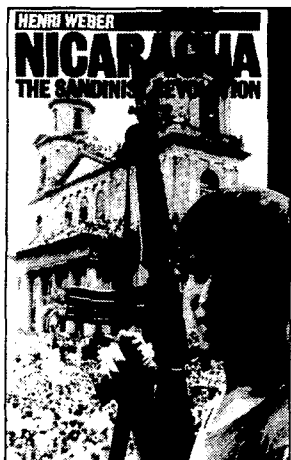
Helms

Continued from preceding page

The Hatch amendment has been spoken well of by numerous constitutional scholars. This is in sharp contrast to Helms' bill, which was regarded as almost certain to be struck down by the courts if it cleared Congress. His two-step strategy also makes tactical sense. So now that the Helms bill has gone down the drain, the Hatch amendment may get such a hearing, inside the movement as well as out.

But even if Hatch's proposal comes out on top in the internal wrestling match, it faces tough sledding should the Senate actually get around to counting the votes on it. That's because, even with all Paul Brown's PAC money, it now looks highly unlikely that the pro-lifers will pick up more than one or two votes in the coming election. For instance, they have made Connecticut's Weicker a particular target, based on his leadership of the filibuster against the Helms bill. But if they succeed in defeating him, his successor would be Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.), who is more liberal than Weicker. They could lose a few anti-abortion senators as well. And the prospects for 1984 are even more discouraging because that year will see many more conservatives and Republicans facing the voters than Democrats and liberals.

■ *Chuck Fager writes regularly for several weekly newspapers and is a staff member of the Congressional Environmental Study Conference.*



Henri Weber

Nicaragua: The Sandinist Revolution

In 1979 Nicaragua's long-lived Somoza dictatorship fell before a mass insurrection led by the Sandinist movement, which has now established the first anti-capitalist power on the American mainland. The background and course of this dramatic upheaval, and the character of the society now emerging from it, are the subject of this compact and timely work of political analysis.

\$5.50 paper \$15.00 cloth

Exterminism and Cold War

Edward Thompson

•Mike Davis •Raymond Williams •Rudolf Bahro •Lucio Magri •Etienne Balibar •Roy & Zhores Medvedev •John Cox •Saburo Kugai •Marcus Raskin •Noam Chomsky •Alan Wolfe •Mary Kaldor •Fred Halliday

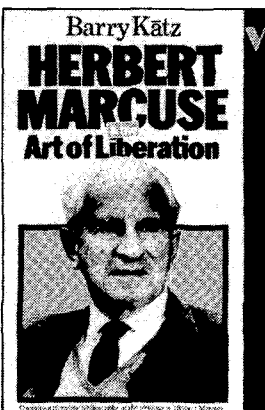
Have nuclear weapons plunged us into the age of 'exterminism,' the last stage of civilization?

Here is the widest international discussion to date of the many issues raised by Edward Thompson—now the world's best-known peace campaigner—in the passionate essay that opens this volume, with contributions from Britain, France, Germany and Italy, from the USA, the Soviet Union and Japan.

"... what is remarkable about this volume," writes Edward Thompson, "is the openness of tone and of terms, the reach for international discourse, the common pursuit of convergent analysis and strategies. ... An international discourse of a new kind has been opened, and this must go on."

\$8.95 paper \$25.00 cloth

Verso Editions/NLB Schocken Books, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016.



Barry Katz

HERBERT MARCUSE Art of Liberation

Barry Katz
Herbert Marcuse and the Art of Liberation

Philosophical speculation seldom attracts banner headlines, let alone threats of death. Yet such was the fate that overtook Herbert Marcuse in the late 1960's when he was catapulted into international controversy as a prophet of the revolutionary student movement. Barry Katz shows that this startling change of fortune was consistent with the whole pattern of the philosopher's life and work.

\$8.50 paper \$22.50 cloth

"If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these woman together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again."—Sojourner Truth

WOMEN IN CRISIS CAN ACT

Chicago's Oldest Feminist Hotline and Referral Service Announces its nine-week fall training for volunteers
October 12, 7-10 p.m., 2114 West Belmont

WORK WITH WOMEN FOR WOMEN
FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL 528-3303

MEXICO

A left look at the bank seizure

By Marc Cooper and Paz Cohen

MEXICO CITY

ON SEPTEMBER 1 PRESIDENT Jose Lopez Portillo secured his place in history by nationalizing this country's private banks. The surprise move was a response to Mexico's worst economic crisis in decades, marked by a quickly devaluing peso, the world's largest foreign debt (\$85 billion) 70 percent inflation, more than 40 percent unemployment, zero productive growth and dwindling foreign currency reserves. The Mexican left opposition was jubilant over the bank seizure but has few illusions about the future being charted by the official Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) that had maintained a monopoly of power for the last five decades by talking a lot about revolution and doing little about it.

Following is an interview with Pablo Gomez, the general secretary of the Mexican United Socialist Party (PSUM), the five-party grouping forged by the Mexican Communist Party earlier this year. The PSUM, which got more than a million votes in last July's election, supports the nationalization but only as a first step in a broader program of social transformation.

Does the nationalization of the banks represent a step forward for the Mexican left or is it a move by the government to co-opt the opposition?

In any country a reform as important as the nationalization of the banks can never be as simple as a mere political move. The sector of Mexican society that has been hit by the nationalization is the most important part of the national financial community.

For many years the left in Mexico has been calling for the nationalization of the banks. So with this expropriation decree the left has in no way been demobilized. It gives us a greater presence and it means in essence that the government has been forced to accept a part of the left economic program.

In what ways, if any, will the nationalization tend to remedy the current economic crisis?

The nationalization includes a whole



range of other measures: a lowering of interest rates, an increase in credits for low-income housing construction, a dampening of financial speculation and of course foreign exchange controls that will reduce the importation of useless luxury goods and will stop the flow of dollars out of the country. This all depends on how the banks will be administered.

What sort of guarantees exist that the banks will not be mismanaged in the same way that the nationalized oil industry has been?

There are no fixed guarantees. But the

country is different now than when the oil was expropriated more than 40 years ago. Now the left is much stronger and there is a greater fight against corruption. Of course, there has been a good deal of corruption in the state oil company, but that does not negate the fact that Mexico freed itself from dependence on foreign oil monopolies.

Whenever a major reform is enacted by the PRI, we have to push for more. These sorts of reforms are not ends in themselves but rather steps toward the more general transformations our society requires.

What is the concrete program that PSUM is offering in the wake of the nationalization?

First, we feel that the nationalization itself is not yet consolidated. We must ensure that banking activity in Mexico becomes the sole responsibility of the government. Second, we want to see workers participation in the management of the banks as well as in the companies that have come under state control via nationalization. Workers participation should also be instituted in those forms that have traditionally been under state control.

It is also necessary now to push for the formation of a national bank workers union that would help guarantee the popular direction of the nationalized banks. We want the banks to be placed under one central authority and not maintained as separate corporations as at present. And, of course, we want none of the banks to be in any way returned to the private sector.

The time has also come in Mexico for the enactment of generalized cost of living raises that our workers do not presently have. Imagine, we have a 70 plus percent inflation rate and no automatic raises! Our workers should have unemployment insurance, something they do not have guaranteed. Public spending has to be reprioritized in favor of the majority of the population, and we are also calling for a sweeping tax reform. All of these measures should be instituted immediately.

With the nationalization of the banks the state inherited some 3,000 companies that had earlier been taken over by the banks. Among the list of companies are about half the country's largest 500 firms. Do you expect the government to turn those companies back to private hands?

It will try to. But I see nothing wrong if the state gives back some of the cafes, night clubs and boutiques it has inherited and has no need to run. But the large industrial firms—I mean the steel, cement, machinery, chemical, food and other giant companies—must remain, in our opinion, under state control with the participation of the workers. I think that in a number of cases it is going to be difficult for the state to return the firms to the private sector. Others we are going to have to fight hard for.

Some leaders of the country's private sector say the banks are being scapegoated for the present crisis, which is really a product of the government's

Continued on page 15

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE RESULTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 8 legislative elections in the Netherlands were "bad but not fatal" for the peace movement, according to Wim Bartels of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council.

Bartels expects a right-wing government—favorable to installation of nuclear missiles on Dutch soil—to emerge eventually from the efforts underway to form a governing majority. But this does not mean, he said, that the government will necessarily try to force the missiles on a country largely opposed to them.

Forming a government among the four major and eight minor parties sharing the Dutch parliament's 150 seats can take a long time. The caretaker government is led by outgoing Prime Minister Andries Van Agt, whose Christian Democrats lost three seats, leaving them 45. Van Agt strongly backs the NATO decision to install 48 Cruise missiles in Holland. His party lost first place to the Social Democratic Labor Party led by Joop Den Uyl, which gained three seats for a total of 47.

As the largest party, the Social Democrats, who oppose the missiles, have been asked by the Queen to form a government. But they are not expected to succeed, since their main potential ally, the centrist Democrats, suffered electoral

disaster, dropping from 17 seats to six.

The big winner was the right People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, jumping from 26 to 36 seats. The People's Party is close to Reagan on economic and defense issues. Unless the Christian Democrats should change leaders and form a coalition with the Social Democrats, which is most unlikely, the Christian Democrats and the People's Party can form a pro-missile government backed by a clear majority in parliament.

But this does not mean that there is a parliamentary majority in favor of the missiles, since Christian Democrats are divided on the issue. Polls show a majority against the missiles. But, according to political commentators, people voted on economic issues. This marks a setback

for the peace movement that had urged voters to give priority to the missile issue.

Instead—in Holland as elsewhere—economic issues tend to polarize the voters. The right response to growing unemployment is hostility toward foreigners. In the September 8 elections, the racist Centrum Party broke into parliament with one seat on the basis of its campaign against immigrants, notably from Holland's former colonies.

Holland must say yes or no to the missiles by the end of 1983. The big question is whether the government will throw its full weight behind the NATO "modernization," asking for a vote of confidence, or remain neutral and let parliamentarians vote their conscience. Bartels thinks that even a right-wing government may

THE NETHERLANDS

Dutch elections may not affect the NATO missiles

well shrink from ramming through a decision so potentially damaging to the national consensus.

Bartels predicts that a right coalition government will probably go along with the alternative being put forward by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt: no nuclear missiles in Central Europe. As a compromise, NATO Cruise missiles would be stationed only in Britain and Sicily.

This would not satisfy the Dutch peace movement at all, Bartels stressed. "The peace movement is very internationalist, more internationalist than the political parties," he emphasized. "We are not simply trying to keep nuclear missiles out of Holland. We are against stationing them anywhere. We want to get rid of all of them—including the Soviet SS 20s."

The main argument currently being used against the peace movement, Bartels said, is that it must not do anything to disturb the Geneva negotiations between U.S. and Soviet representatives. "We have to show people that the real purpose of the Geneva negotiations is to manage the peace movement." Bartels expects that, at most, the Geneva negotiators may come up with a compromise limiting the number of Eurostrategic missiles on both sides. This would probably entail revising the NATO plan so as not to station the missiles in West Germany or Holland. But the nuclear missile base in Comiso, Sicily—potentially aimed at Africa and the Middle East—would remain.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

EXTRA STEP

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S ANALYSIS OF France (*ITT*, Aug. 25) once again proves (to me) *In These Times*' superiority to even the best metropolitan dailies—a Boston *Globe* "Center-piece" (special to the *Globe* by Ronald Koven, also datelined: Paris/News Analysis/"Of Jews and France," Aug. 27) attempts to cover much of the same ground, but leaves me wondering if any Frenchman is less than an "anti-Semite."

Please do keep up the good work. The final paragraph that speculates on who actually stands to gain by the Rue des Rosiers incident is exactly what left journalism must provide, and what centrist journalism seems most able to avoid: that extra analytical step, plausible speculation, based on how the world actually works, with accountability for factions and parties.

—Bill Costley
Wellesley, Mass.

STAY AND AGITATE!

IT'S DISAPPOINTING TO SEE LETTERS from people cancelling their subscriptions to *In These Times* over your coverage of the war in Lebanon or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in general, but I sympathize with them. While *ITT*'s coverage of most domestic and some international affairs is good to admirable, the treatment of Israel, Zionism and the Middle East is not.

My criticism does not apply to the editorial positions of *ITT*, which generally have been a fair, honest support for political approaches to what is essentially a political problem, the chasms and clashes between the national movements of two people, Jews and Palestinians. It is to your credit that you have taken the lonely road of simultaneous support for and compromises between Jewish nationalism (Zionism) and Palestinian nationalism.

But coverage of the conflict leaves much to be desired. Diana Johnstone

clearly gets her information by listening to ideologues with both an anti-Zionist and anti-American bias, and sometimes sounds as if she were in cahoots with the European Labor Party of Lyndon LaRouche, what with her conspiratorial analyses of the war in Lebanon (*ITT*, Aug. 11 and Aug. 25). David Mandel has regularly given a distorted picture of the Israeli political scene and has underplayed and misrepresented various forces within the Israeli "peace camp." The anti-Israel and anti-Zionist biases of Claudia Wright became clear when one compares her review of Rafik Halabi's new book, *The West Bank Story* in *Inquiry* (April 26) with Irving Howe's review of the same book in *The New York Times Book Review* (May 16).

What should be done? Readers should not leave *ITT*, despite concern over what they perceive to be distorted coverage. Instead, they should write letters to the editor—the editorial board should be held accountable to its readership. Abandoning *ITT* will only increase the shift toward bias and distortion.

Readers should also find a variety of sources for information about the Jewish-Palestinian problem. I would suggest *Israel Horizons*, the journal of Americans for Progressive Israel, *Jewish Frontier* (New York), *New Outlook* (Tel Aviv), *Progressive Israel* and *Direct Line from Israel* (both published by Mapam, the United Workers Party of Israel, in Tel Aviv), *Shdemot*, the cultural journal of the kibbutz movement (Tel Aviv).

And *ITT* should find ways to expose readers to the various forces within the Israeli peace camp—Yossi Sarid of the Labor Party, Shulamit Aloni of the Ratz (Citizens' Rights) Party, the activists within Mapam, *Shalom Achshav* (Peace Now) leaders—who never manage to see the light of day in *In These Times*, *The Progressive*, *The Nation*, *The Village Voice* or *The Washington Post*. If this requires finding other correspondents within Israel, then so be it.

—Arieh Lebowitz
New York

Israel Horizons, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011; *Jewish Frontier*, 27 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011; *Shdemot/English*, 10 Dubnov Street, Tel Aviv, Israel; *Progressive Israel & Direct Line from Israel*, Mapam—International Relations Department, 4 Itamar Ben Avi Street, Tel Aviv, Israel; *New Outlook*, 2 Karl Netter Street, Tel Aviv, Israel.

LEGITIMATE TERRORISM

WHEN I FIRST RETURNED FROM A three-month trip to the Middle East this spring and summer I wanted to cancel my *ITT* subscription because, at first glance, it seemed to me that you weren't providing adequate coverage of that area.

But your recent coverage and the letters from the readers it has elicited has convinced me to renew my subscription. I want to offer my support to others whose sympathy to the Palestinians has been labeled anti-Semitism. I also applaud those Jews, like Erwin Salk (Letters, *ITT*, Aug. 11), who speak out against the recent Israeli atrocities.

The day I arrived in Beirut, April 21,

I witnessed a bombing raid by the Israelis on Sidon, where at least 25 people were killed—that's more in one simple afternoon's work than the PLO had killed within the three months preceding the invasion. (The reason given for the raid in which 25 had to die was that an Israeli soldier riding in a jeep ran over a mine and died. So 25 had to die for one Israeli killed. Remind you of any other policy in recent history?) What impressed me most about this raid was how ineffectual the Palestinian anti-aircraft was against the sophisticated planes of the Israelis. As a friend of mine on the West Bank put it, the Israeli "retaliatory" attacks are legitimate terrorism because they are waged by a country!

Another favorite practice by the Israelis in Lebanon while I was there was to fly over Beirut and break the sound barrier—a practice that sounds like bombing—to terrorize the local population, which succeeded because every time a plane flew overhead, I cringed.

For the person who accused the PLO of hiding behind innocent women and children's skirts (Letters, *ITT*, Sept. 8), I'd ask this question: Where would you like the PLO to hide? They tried to hide in Sidon when the Israelis swept through there to "clean up" the "terrorists." Radio reports we heard from Beirut in Cyprus described how the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) wouldn't let the International Red Cross into Sidon with medical supplies because they didn't want any witnesses to know how the IDF routinely shot any Palestinian male over the age of 10, and also to see the level of destruction.

I'd like to know what the Israelis really want. Do they seriously expect peace to come by creating a new, bitter generation of PLO recruits in the still-existent refugee camps in Lebanon? The Palestinians aren't going to quietly disappear, or allow themselves to be liquidated, either through genocide or emigration.

I shudder for the future of Israel. Hysteria and paranoia are making the Israelis dig their own grave. Daily events show that. Publications like *In These Times* shouldn't be blackmailed by cancellations of subscriptions into stopping their coverage—"slanted" as it might seem to Zionists. Anyone who subscribes to *ITT* to get so-called objective journalism on the Mideast or Central America or Reaganomics or any of the other topics covered by *ITT* should watch TV instead for more comfortable "objectivity."

—Ellen Fleischmann
Cambridge, Mass.

KUDOS

I WANT TO EXTEND MY APPRECIATION of the thoughtful comments of Daniel Newman regarding the work of photographers Earl Dotter and Lee Friedlander (*ITT*, July 14). I don't agree with Newman in all of his conclusions; I believe that Lee Friedlander is every bit the photographer that Dotter is. Friedlander does, as Newman says, "confront workers who stand masked and alone," as all of us as workers inevitably do sometimes. I do not find "overtones of a resigned hopelessness" as Newman does, however, in Friedlander's work. I find uncanny and unusual perception, contemplative energy. I also think that Newman steps beyond the bounds in his assertion that Friedlander's work reflects "hidden parts of himself he has tried to reject, but whose existence he must acknowledge."

I find the format and design of *In These Times* very strong. Your use of typography is impressive. As a photographer, I appreciate this:

—David Rathbun
Chicago

LABOR FOR CUOMO

WE WISH TO CORRECT SEVERAL INACCURACIES in John Judis' article "Can Mario Cuomo catch up to Koch?"

(*ITT*, Sept. 15). The New York state gubernatorial primary contest between Mayor Ed Koch and Lt. Gov. Mario Cuomo reveals the forces presently contending for the soul of the Democratic Party. It might be viewed as a litmus test of the nature of one's commitment to the development of a Democratic Party that would really challenge the forces of Reaganism and the New Right.

This, at least, is the perspective from which this race has been viewed by the vast majority of progressive groups that have lined up quite impressively behind the candidacy of Mario Cuomo. Judis' article singularly failed to correctly portray this political landscape. Due to limitations of space, I will only focus upon some of the inaccuracies involved in the portrayal of labor's role in the campaign.

Given *ITT*'s consistent coverage of labor, it is surprising that Judis' piece is so far off the mark. Significantly, organized labor, coordinated by the Labor Committee for Cuomo, has organized an effective field operation throughout the state. When Judis writes that "most municipal unions are backing Koch," he is plainly inaccurate. Among those who are endorsing Cuomo is the teachers' union (statewide both AFT and NEA), AFSCME, District 37, the Communications Workers, the Teamsters and the state AFL-CIO. (It should be noted that such involvement in a Democratic primary is a significant departure from past practice.) Even more, Koch's blatant anti-unionism has succeeded in mobilizing many previously inactive rank-and-file union members to work for Cuomo. For similar reasons, the LIPC has endorsed Cuomo.

Cuomo's campaign doesn't advocate the kind of budget balancing that Koch achieved under the guidance of Wall Street's Financial Control Board because that "success" took place at the expense of middle- and lower-income people. Rather than seeking to limit Wall Street's governance of the city, as Judis states, Koch has enthusiastically sought the continuation of the Financial Control Board. Finally, Judis' use of the Agnewesque term "ultra-liberal" seems quite unfortunate, though perhaps revealing.

In any case, we do not shy away from such identification if it connotes a responsible progressive politics of the kind that *In These Times* has in the past so forcefully advocated.

—David A. Sprintzen
Convenor, Long Island Progressive Coalition
Hicksville, N.Y.

John Judis replies: In my article, I tried to report both the often private reflections of New York leftists that, in the words of one, "there is not a dime's worth of difference between Koch and Cuomo," and the choleric pronouncements of other leftists that the race pits good against evil and left against right.

As far as labor support for Cuomo, I state in my article that "the state AFL-CIO and most New York unions...are backing Cuomo." As far as municipal workers are concerned, Teamsters Local 813; the Hotel, Police, Fire and Sanitation Workers are backing Koch for reasons I stated in the article. As far as united "progressive" labor support for Cuomo, the New York state United Auto Workers and District 1199, important parts of New York's "progressive" bloc, are staying neutral in the election.

When I referred to Koch as being a member of New York City's "ultra liberal" congressional bloc, I was not using the term disparagingly.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

new left review

134

SPECIAL ISSUE

Anthony Barnett

IRON BRITANNIA

The Falklands War, Thatcher and the nuclear precipice

forthcoming:

George Black	<i>Revolution in Central America</i>
Michel Aglietta	<i>World Economic Crisis</i>
Michèle Barrett	<i>Apologies for Patriarchy?</i>
& Mary McIntosh	
Roy Medvedev	<i>Death of Suslov</i>
Mike Davis	<i>US Labor in Retreat</i>
Terry Eagleton	<i>Wittgenstein's Friends</i>

single issue \$5/subs \$22 (6 issues)

new left review 7 Carlisle St
London W1V 6NL

By Arie Lebowitz

BETWEEN THE EVENING OF September 16 and that of September 18, a brutal crime was committed—the wanton slaying of Palestinian refugees living in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps on the outskirts of West Beirut. All the facts are not yet known, but a tragedy of historic dimensions is clear. As this is being written, Israeli Prime Minister Begin's government is holding on to power by the skin of its teeth.

His minister of energy, Yitzhak Ber- man of the Liberal Party, has informed the prime minister that he would vote against the government coalition in the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, and has announced that he is stepping down from his cabinet position. Other ministers may do likewise. Menachem Milson, the civilian administrator of the West Bank, has just resigned.

The facts are becoming increasingly clear: Right-wing Lebanese Christian militia, loyal to Col. Saad Haddad, were allowed into the two Palestinian refugee camps by officers of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), who thought that the Lebanese Christians would "mop up" the remnants of the PLO fighting force left after the PLO evacuation from West Beirut. Haddad's people were joined by right-wing Christian forces from the neighboring city of Damour, who have had long-standing bloody feuds with Palestinians.

But upon entering the camps, the militia trained their guns on all residents of the camps. In two days, between 300 and 1,000 Palestinian men, women and children were killed. Prime Minister Begin has resisted a proposal by Israeli President Yitzhak Navon to convene a national board of inquiry into the role of the IDF in the events in Sabra and Shatila.

Outrage over this slaughter has come from all quarters: Lebanese Christians, Moslems and the PLO have all condemned the killings. Haddad's forces denied any complicity, despite damning testimony by the few survivors. The international community was also outraged, and within Israel there have been anguished statements in the media and in the streets by both Jewish and Arab citizens.

Protests have been mounted by Israelis in front of the Knesset, calling for Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's resignation. Israeli Arabs have called a strike to protest. The major Israeli newspapers—*Ha'Aretz*, *Ma'ariv* and the *Jerusalem Post*—have called for Sharon's resignation to be followed by that of Begin. In a stormy Knesset debate, the opposition Knesset members Shimon Peres of the Labor Party and Dov Zakai of the United Workers Party (Mapam) both called for the resignation of Begin and Sharon and supported the establishment of Navon's national board of inquiry. For while the right-wing Christian militia bear direct responsibility for the carnage, the IDF entered West Beirut with the avowed goal of preventing such bloodshed in the city in the wake of the assassination of President-elect Bashir Gemayel just a few days prior.

Lebanon has been the scene of sectarian violence for the last seven years or more. The violence is due in part to the political system that is a legacy of French colonial rule lasting until the late '40s and in part to the fragmentation caused by the presence of Syrian and Palestinian military forces. And of course, Israel had helped the creation and strengthening of the private army of Col. Haddad. Southern Lebanon had turned into a series of enclaves, such as the "Free Lebanon" of the Christians and the "Fatahland" of the PLO from which terrorist raids were launched into Israel.

But the recent massacre is also a reflection of the state of statelessness of the Palestinian people—a reflection of the non-success of the Palestinian national movement to achieve any significant measure of self-determination for the Palestinian people.



PERSPECTIVES

After the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila

Whether "simply" a fateful miscalculation of a breakdown of communications, we now believe that the Likud government knew what was going on in the camps early on, but did not intervene until it was too late to stop the mass killings. The deep hatred between the Lebanese Christian forces and the Palestinians in Lebanon was well known. It was beyond Israel's capacity to juggle one force against another in Lebanon, whether to "mop-up" the remnants of the PLO or to help crystallize a "strong central Lebanese government."

This latest tragedy must bring us to the central issue, the conflict between Palestinian nationalism and Jewish nationalism (Zionism). Zionism is a movement to allow the Jewish people to collectively participate in the flow of history, to determine the future of their people in a creative manner as all nationalist movements aim to do. Clearly, without resolving the conflicting claims of Jews and Palestinians, the Zionist movement cannot fulfill its goals either for the Jews of Israel or for the majority of Jewish people who still live outside the borders of the Jewish state.

There are two peoples—two competing national movements—struggling for one piece of land. The exact borders may vary, the name may be different in Arabic or Hebrew, but this is the crux of the conflict. This is not the only conflict in the Mideast, certainly, but a solution is essential to end the strife, bloodshed and waste of precious human potential of both peoples.

A few perceptive individuals and movements in both communities—Jewish and Palestinian—have seen the simple truths outlined above. But their voices are almost lost, in the din of those who have preferred to deafen themselves with the roar of guns and to blind themselves by wrapping themselves in flags and sacred causes. These tactics have not succeeded in making the conflict disappear.

The time is ripe—as it always is—for

bold initiatives on the part of Palestinian nationalists and Zionists. The tragedy in the Sabra and Shatila camps must lead to mutual recognition, of the Jews' and Palestinians' legitimate national aspirations and the final renunciation of terrorism or other war-like acts to achieve political goals. This formulation is at the core of the Shemtov-Yariv formula named after Victor Shemtov, secretary general of the United Workers Party of Israel (Mapam), and Israeli General (Res.) Aharon Yariv of the Institute for Strategic Studies of Tel Aviv University.

The two proposed that Israel announce its readiness to negotiate with any representative Palestinian group or faction that recognizes Israel, renounces the use of terrorism and accepts UN resolutions 242 and 338. With variations, this formula is now accepted by virtually all sectors of the Israeli peace camp. Shemtov, now a member of the Knesset, recently called for explicitly mutual recognition of the right of Palestinian self-determination by Israel and the state of Israel by Palestinians.

Perceptive readers will note that the above proposals do not mention maps, borders, demilitarized zones or god. What is discussed is the recognition of mutual needs and mutual national rights. As others have pointed out, Jews and Palestinians are destined either to live together or die together. Cycles of violence, disparate relationships and suspicion are difficult to overcome. It will take decades before a generation of unscarred children—Jews and Palestinians—will arise in our common homeland. The partition of this land into two parts, and the development of amicable and cooperative relationships may take as long. But the "stain of Sabra and Shatila," as the Israeli daily newspaper *Ha'Aretz* described this massacre, underlines the urgency of creative approaches to the Jewish-Palestinian conflict.

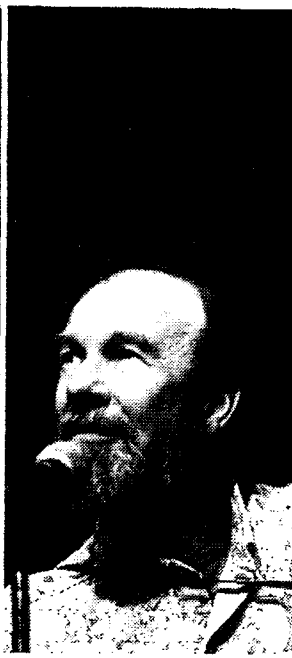
I am often asked what role Americans can play in this process. The brave Israeli men and women who are protesting against the Begin-Sharon regime, who are calling out for their resignation, need our support. Voices within Israel calling for Jewish-Palestinian dialogue certainly need our support. Letters and telegrams, can and should be sent to Knesset members Shimon Peres, head of the Labor Party, Victor Shemtov, head of the United Workers Party (Mapam), and Shulamit Aloni, head of the Citizen's Rights Party, in care of the Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel. (Shalom Achshav, the Israeli "Peace Now" movement, is an extra-parliamentary movement mobilizing wide support in Israel. They, too, need our support and can be contacted through Gary Brenner, Kibbutz Hatzor, DN Hatzor, Ashdod, Israel.)

Beyond that we must learn more about and actively support those forces within both Israel and the Palestinian community striving for Jewish-Arab rapprochement and the non-violent resolution of this century-old conflict.

Arie Lebowitz is a member of the Executive Committee of Americans for Progressive Israel, a socialist-Zionist organization affiliated with the World Union of Mapam, and the World Jewish Congress-American Section.

Subscribe to IN THESE TIMES

- ☐ YES, I want to try IN THESE TIMES, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.
- ☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.
- ☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.



**"Maybe you
been working
Just as hard as
you're able
And you just got
crumbs
from the rich
man's table'
—so you should
insist that your
local library gets
In These Times"**

Pete Seeger

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____
 Signature _____
 Name _____
 Address _____
 City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES
 1509 N. Milwaukee
 Chicago, IL 60622

INPRINT

AMERICAN LIFESTYLES

Nuclear Culture: Living and Working in the World's Largest Atomic Complex

By Paul Loeb
 Coward, McCann, Geoghegan,
 Inc., 252 pp., \$13.95

By Janice Peck

Midway through *Nuclear Culture*, a pipefitter working on one of three reactors under construction at the Hanford nuclear reservation sums up his disdain for Richland, Wash., the government-manufactured town built during World War II as part of the Manhattan Project. Richland, he says, is an "Ozzie and Harriet culture."

The accuracy of this observation is what makes Paul Loeb's portrait of Hanford, and the nuclear culture that grew up around it so chilling. Richland is an embodiment of the values associated with the "American Way of Life." It is a culture built on a belief in progress, prosperity and the merits of the nuclear family (a term that assumes new dimensions at Hanford.)

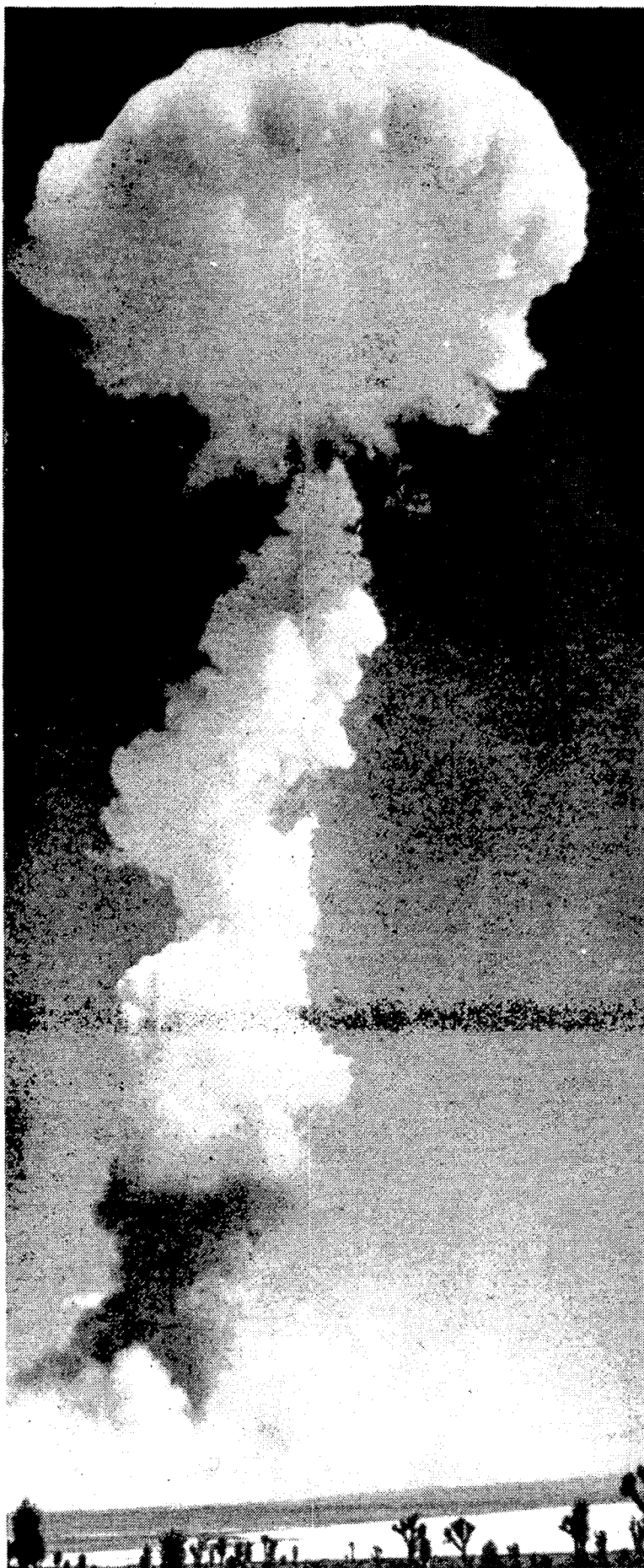
Seattle journalist Paul Loeb

This is a place where the high school emblem is a mushroom cloud.

spent two years researching Hanford's history and operations, talking with the people who work at the Area (as most employees call the 570-square-mile complex) and live in nearby Richland, Pasco or Kennewick.

The pioneers of this nuclear culture are the "old hands" who arrived in eastern Washington during the war to create a product whose ultimate purpose remained a mystery to most of them until Hiroshima and Nagasaki were leveled. (Hanford-made plutonium fueled the "Fat Man"—the bomb that destroyed Nagasaki.) They are men who describe themselves as "doers, not thinkers." Their wives, sheltered from all knowledge of the project, struggled to turn the government installation in the middle of the desert into Anytown, U.S.A., complete with afternoon tea parties and white picket fences. These nuclear pioneers, Loeb tells us, rarely questioned the purpose of their mission. They saw themselves engaged in "a sense of purpose far beyond that offered in normal daily life." When news of the bombings came, champagne flowed all night.

Although the pioneers assumed Hanford would shut down after Japan's surrender, the world was then drawn into the Cold War and the U.S. embarked on a manic nuclear arms program. Many of the old hands are still among the Area's 13,000 workers, along with the younger "Atomic Cowboys" whose lav-



At home in the Atomic City

ish paychecks keep them flush with drugs, fast cars and stereo equipment. But there are also nuclear workers like Amy whose fears about the safety of her job are offset by memories of \$4-an-hour factory work that barely fed and clothed her two kids. This is a place where the high school team is called the "Bombers," and the school emblem is a mushroom cloud that the student body president refers to as a "cool aggressive symbol" and a local minister calls a "symbol of peace."

Dave, a weld inspector, is none too fond of nuclear power and supports cities "that don't want it in their backyards." But he sticks it out at Hanford "cause you know I'm just in it for the

money." He "marched a lot in the '60s," but that youthful idealism "kind of dries up when you land on your feet, have two kids and realize you need money." As he reasons, if he doesn't earn the \$30,000 a year inspecting welds, someone else will, and at least he checks the work better than "someone who doesn't give a shit."

It is exchanges like these that make Loeb's book powerful. He allows the people of Hanford to tell their story in their own words, but also grapples with his own feelings about life in the atomic age. By blending the personal, historical and technical, Loeb makes us engaged observers rather than detached voyeurs. In his research, Loeb encour-

tered bureaucratic road blocks, governmental reticence and institutionalized silence. Several people in the book refer to "Robert Redford types" who wish to derail all progress, and demand to know if Loeb is "one of them." Many of his subjects granted interviews only when guaranteed anonymity.

Social myopia.

He shows the fallibility of human endeavor in any industrial process, as well as its potentially devastating consequences in the nuclear industry. And he points to the rationalizing by which workers sever their own work from the end product of their labor. If the book suffers from a weakness it is in his failure to extend this critique to the economic and political structure that demands both nuclear proliferation and the separation between the spheres of work and private life.

The Ozzie and Harriet culture of Richland is based on the belief that progress is synonymous with prosperity, that technology can solve all problems. The most striking revelation of *Nuclear Culture*, in fact, is that the "wholesome" ideals of family, respect for authority, and hard work, are wrapped around an activity that is awesome in its destructive potential.

At one point Loeb suggests that the problem with Hanford, and with all modern "megatech" projects, is that by cutting ties with nature, we have fashioned a "barren" (by virtue of its being "man-made") world. This criticism, and the accompanying longing for an idyllic, pre-industrial past, not only misses the point—it can lead to blaming technology for problems that are social in origin. The real flaw of post-industrial American society is not that it is man-made—all results of human activity are man-made. Rather, it is that technology is harnessed to anti-social ends. Richland's atomic culture is barren, because the products of places like Hanford rely on a division of labor so finely-tuned that the workers have all but the barest connection with the results of their labor.

The separation of individual labor from its social implications surfaces continually in Loeb's talks with Hanford employees. It turns up in their assurances that the array of precautions are adequate to prevent accidents, that the work will go on regardless of their personal qualms, that nuclear power is a "calculated risk" much like driving a car. The director of nuclear operations first admits that "it completely terrifies me that our regard for life is such that men can even think of something like the neutron bomb," and then concludes, "if the government experts who know more than I do say we need the neutron bomb, I have to back them up."

Loeb notes that few rebels or critics emerge at Hanford, and those who do are promptly discredited. Yet he does not fully explore this defusing of dissent. It is true that Hanford workers learn to suspend judgment about the products of their labor, but this social myopia is not unique to them. Our society has frag-

mented all work in this way—in the manufacture of bombs, of pesticides, of food laced with carcinogens, of the mass media that sells us those products and the American Way of Life itself.

Nuclear weapons, like nuclear power, did not spring up full-grown from a vacuum. And nuclear proliferation is not simply the concrete manifestation of Cold War ideology. Military production is intrinsically tied to the U.S. economic structure. The exponential growth of atomic destructive capacity cannot uti-



imately be attributed to the people who make the weapons, but to those who determine that they are necessary and who make the decisions to invest enormous sums of "public" money in their creation.

The weld inspector who argues that at least he "gives a shit" is equally correct when he says that "to live these days you need the green dollar." As wage laborers, most people's power resides solely in selling themselves to the highest bidder, and Hanford workers are as bound by this economic law as the rest of us.

In a concluding chapter, Loeb discusses the apocalyptic attitudes that seemed strangely common among the people of Hanford. The sense of ambivalence toward nuclear war in the young woman who says, "The world's supposed to end in hellfire anyway—at least that's what the Bible says to believe," is not too different from the powerlessness many of us feel in confronting the modern world.

Loeb suggests that having "lived with the bomb" for nearly four decades, we have adopted a repression mechanism to keep the horror at bay. Confronting this repression is critical to dismantling nuclear culture. Powerlessness may manifest itself in apocalyptic visions or the fundamentalists' welcoming of doomsday. It may also elicit active opposition. But any disarmament movement must eventually confront the incompatibility of its aims with the military dependence of the U.S. economy.

Although Loeb does not explicitly make that connection, he does make a potent case for bringing our subterranean feelings about nuclear war to the surface. *Nuclear Culture* is an important book because it presents nuclear production as a concrete, human activity, instead of an abstract, technological—and therefore unchangeable—force.

Janice Peck is a Seattle journalist.

CONSERVATIVES

Right-wing populism on rise

Post-Conservative America
By Kevin Phillips
Random House, 261 pp., \$14.50

By John H. Judis

There haven't been American fascists since the '30s, but now in response to the failure of Reaganomics, some conservatives identified with the New Right have openly embraced an American-style fascism as the alternative to both democratic liberalism and Reagan conservatism. The most comprehensive statement of this new position is contained in Kevin Phillips' new book, *Post-Conservative America*.

Phillips has always been the New Right's leading intellectual—indeed, he is one of America's foremost political analysts. In his 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, the former aide to Richard Nixon developed the concept of a "Sunbelt" to refer to America's increasingly prosperous and conservative Southern rim. In the mid-'70s, he coined the term "New Right" to describe the efforts of Richard Viguerie, himself and others to blend the social issues of the George Wallace campaign with the economic issues of traditional conservatives.

Post-Conservative America is a sometimes confusing combination of analysis and advocacy. Phillips describes his approach as "a vaguely neo-Marxian brand of conservative analysis," and he is one of the few liberals or conservatives who can approvingly quote conservative sociologist Robert Nisbet in one paragraph and Marxist Eric Hobsbawm or William Appleman Williams in the next. Phillips believes in Reagan's politics, which he associates with a revolutionary conservative populism, but has no patience with his supply-side economics. He predicts and apparently advocates a right-wing authoritarian populism whose antecedents, Phillips acknowledges, include Nazism as well as Jacksonian and William Jennings Bryan-style democracy.

Phillips is at his best weaving together cultural, demographic and electoral trends. He is at his worst when placing the U.S. in the panorama of world history. He believes that the world is now undergoing its fourth "price revolution" since 1000 A.D. Previous revolutions occurred in the 13th, 16th and 18th centuries and were caused and accompanied by the growth of government, world trade and of the international monetary supply. Phillips is not totally convincing in demonstrating why the world today has more in common with the 13th century than it does with the period before World War I, but the point he extracts from this analogy does not depend on its validity: that the growth of the state is not necessarily negative, but has often accompanied economic growth.

Phillips views Reagan's economic policies as "nostalgic conservatism" that try to recreate in the '80s the economic conditions of the '20s. Citing John Kenneth Galbraith and others, Phillips convincingly argues that the

policies pursued in the '20s by Reagan's heroes—President Calvin Coolidge and Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon—led directly to the Great Depression. By widening the income disparity between rich and poor, their policies reduced consumer demand and created surplus capacity that was expended in speculation. "How could [the supply-side] advocates so casually cite the policies of Andrew Mellon and Calvin Coolidge as precedents favorable for their own, dismiss widely held expert opinion that those same policies led the nation to economic disaster and the Republicans to political rout, all the while assuming that the country would go along with their visionist disregard of the events of 1929?" Phillips asks.

More government.

Phillips himself advocates more rather than less government intervention in the economy. Citing former Treasury Secretary and Presidential candidate John Connally, a champion of big government, and New York financier Felix Rohatyn, a leading advocate of economic planning, Phillips predicts that a "new mid-'80s business-government partnership would probably be far more corporatist than liberal." Phillips takes a similar

glory in the new localism. He believes that to solve America's economic problems, "power at the federal level must be augmented, and lodged for the most part in the executive branch."

Phillips espousal of corporatist economics and strong central government would seem to put him at odds not only with current conservative political leaders, but with the political base of Reagan conservatism. But Phillips argues that Reagan's base in 1980, like Nixon's in 1972, was what sociologist Donald Warren has called "middle-American radicalism," a conservative populism centered

U.S. Both involve a movement to the right, a politics increasingly nationalistic, a return to folkways and traditional values and the rejection of avant-garde culture."

Phillips draws together his analogies and speculations: the various historical price revolutions produced strongmen in their wake (Cromwell, Napoleon); Weimar Germany produced you-know-who; and Sunbelt conservatism "stands a much better chance of moving toward the views of John Connally than of Adam Smith." Citing Walter Laquer's prediction that Europe's "crisis of sur-

ity. It is one side of what Christopher Lasch has called America's cultural civil war. Reagan's majority in 1980 was not based strictly on middle-American radicalism, but on the widespread conviction that the incumbent could not solve the most basic economic problems facing Americans.

In 1981, political scientists Stuart A. Lillie and William S. Maddox broke down the 1980 results into four different voting categories: "libertarian," "conservative," "liberal" and "populist." The categories were defined by positions associated with a desire for more or less government intervention in the economy and for either government respect for individual rights or government enforcement of moral standards. At one extreme, libertarians were defined as opposing government intervention in all forms, while at the other extreme, populists were defined as support-

Phillips argues that the policies pursued by Reagan's heroes in the '20s led to the Great Depression.

in the white Sunbelt and laced with the fervor of the evangelical "fourth Great Awakening." In describing the mood of middle-American radicalism Phillips introduces another key historical analogy—Weimar Germany. Phillips claims that Weimar and today's U.S. have in common inflation, a recent defeat in war, and similar political and cultural crises. "In the Germany from

vival" will give rise to a "brutal" and "far-reaching reassertion of authority," Phillips concludes, "Instead of being a force for reform in yesteryear's frontier world, the rise of the Sunbelt may instead constitute a force for a similar quest for order in the U.S."

Phillips never actually advocates dictatorship or monarchy—he has nothing in common with the neo-feudal or neo-monarchist currents of the right wing that used to congregate on the fringes of *National Review* in the '50s. He cites Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln as precedents as well as Hitler, Cromwell and Napoleon. But he is willing to link in one sentence George Wallace, Barry Goldwater, Adolf Hitler and Pierre Poujade as leaders of "populist and revolutionary conservative movements."

Phillips is also not an isolated member of the New Right. In the recently published *New Right Papers*, several contributors advocate what Phillips often only claims to predict: the emergence of an authoritarian conservative populism based in white middle-America. Samuel Francis, a former Heritage Foundation staff member and now an aide to Sen. John East (R-N.C.), says, "In place of the free market of the Old Right or the 'stabilization' of the present elite, the New Right should center its economic aspirations on the concept of economic growth."

Cultural civil war.

Whatever one thinks about the desirability of a conservative populist revolution, it would be a mistake to dismiss Phillips' analysis and predictions. Phillips has characterized the mood of a significant part of the nation: anguished about the decline of American power, bitter about the erosion of family and neighborhoods and resentful toward both the upper classes and the government-aided underclasses. Phillips' critique of both liberal and supply-side economics is also on target.

But as Phillips sometimes acknowledges, middle-American radicalism is only one current in the increasingly muddled American political stream and by no means representative of a major-

ing government intervention in all forms. The results were as follows: Libertarian, 13.1 percent; Liberal, 16.4 percent; Conservative, 17.9 percent; Populist, 23.6 percent; Unclassifiable, 29.0 percent.

These results show the potential for populism to carve out a significant niche (although their results do not distinguish between left- and right-wing populisms). But the broader conclusion that one must draw from the results—and one that Phillips does not reject—is the fragmentation of American politics and the growing inability of any segment to capture a majority mandate. Indeed, Phillips sees more significance in the showing of Barry Commoner's Citizens Party in 1980—and the showing of John Anderson and the Libertarians—than many of the activists that worked in those campaigns.

Phillips, like others in the New Right, is strong on politics, but extremely vague on policies. This reflects the origins of the New Right as an opportunistic effort to attract blue-collar Democrats to conservative economics by means of such social issues as abortion, busing and school prayer. Now that New Right leaders like Phillips have acknowledged the failure of conservative economics, they find themselves thrashing about in waters largely dominated by liberals and even Marxists. Phillips' book is like a mirror image of such current neo-liberal books as Ira Magaziner and Robert Reich's *Minding America's Business*, which consist of extremely sophisticated policy recommendations, but not the slightest hint of how to get from the desk to the electorate.

Perhaps the most interesting conclusion that can be drawn from Phillips' book is that the best and brightest of both the conservative and liberal intelligentsia—Phillips, George Will, Lester Thurow, to name a few—now agree that the government must abandon its fascination with laissez-faire nostalgia and figure out how to use public power to rescue the economy. How this is done and who does it on behalf of whom will be decided in the political battles of the '80s and the '90s. ■



New Right theorist Kevin Phillips links Hitler, Andrew Jackson and John Connally.

stance in relation to America's Constitutional structure, which he believes "is too diffused to make difficult and necessary economic and technical decisions" and the "Balkanization of America"—the growing diversity of competing regional, ethnic and local forces. Unlike other conservatives, he does not

1929 to 1933, the stimuli and pathologies produced a Teutonic ripeness for one of the movements that historian Arnold Toynbee has described as a nationalist archaism, a culture's attempt to restore a past glory and mythology. Elements of the Reagan revolution suggest a related attempt may be occurring in the

CANADIAN THEATER

Odes to the outlands

By Barbara Garson

This season Canada's only national theater is presenting plays by a German, a Hawaiian, two Irish and four dead Englishmen. No wonder some living Canadians resent it. But these nationalist grumbles are not audible, at least during the season, in the Towne of Stratford itself. So for the first two days I glided peacefully from play to play along with the swans and paddleboats on the Canadian Avon.

Arms and the Man was as airy and delicious as an Amaretto mousse. *Julius Caesar* featured a Method Acting mob that gave Anthony something to play against. But Brutus and the rest were still so boring that I'm now convinced that the play is Shakespeare's noblest dud of them all. *All's Well That Ends Well*, directed by Richard Cottrell on the small Third Stage, was clear, sincere and unadorned. It was my favorite play at the festival and the only one that stayed with me afterwards. Finally, I saw a *Tempest* that began with "ohhs" and "ahhs" (my own included) as the winds swirled silky waves. But it soon became so figuratively as well as literally overblown that some women in the audience nudged their nodding husbands as we approached famous lines. ("Harry, wake up! Here comes a sea change.") By this

time I needed to be nudged myself. So I accepted a ride to Blyth, home of a smaller festival in the region.

"Population 1,000," said the sign as we entered town. "Blyth Summer Festival. ALL CANADIAN PLAYS." "So you've come from Stratford," the players greeted us. Then, with derision, anger and shame, "Canada's national theater devoted to a dead Englishman." The productions at Blyth went on to develop the theme of their highway sign.

Country Hearts by Ted Johns, with music by John Roby, seemed to be set in the tavern across the road from the theater, or at least it had the same pickled eggs in a jar, the same signs tacked on the wall, the same southern Ontario pall. In this loosely written musical the tavern proprietor decides to "get with it" by importing a country and western band called Sam Slick and the Slowpokes. The Slowpokes will bring a big-town (Toronto) flavor, which is of course watered-down American. But as it turns out, the misfits washed up at the tavern have the talent among themselves to create a glorious local group eventually called the Country Hearts. Though the play became soap-operatic in the second act, the matinee audience, a sea of white-haired elders bused in by church

groups, obviously had a ball with the wonderful fiddle music, the local jokes, and the large lively cast that spilled off the stage.

The evening show, *La Sagouine*, consisted of five polished monologues delivered by the superb actress Viola Leger. *La Sagouine*, a 72-year-old Acadian scrubwoman, is presented as rich with a peasant wit that verges, just once in a while, on the precious. About her employers she says "We wear the old clothes they give us for the sake of Jesus Christ. It's a lucky thing

seems to consist of two small, gossip worlds normally well separated by the language barrier: *La Sagouine* toured for 11 years in French before Leger began performing it last year in English. I consider myself very lucky to have stumbled onto her guest appearance at Blyth.

The Blyth festival is enthusiastically supported in its rural community. But the company itself is drawn from English Canada's rootless cosmopolitan theater professionals. They are ideologically committed to providing entertainment for their southern Ontario audience: provincialism in the most self-conscious sense.

In Canada, nationalism almost always means regionalism. This is partly because the regions were settled by separate and thrivingly unhomogenized groups. But to cultural nationalists, "Canadian" still has to

mean regional today because anything nationwide is so easily dominated by American corporations.

Right now 35 percent of Canada's manufactured goods are imported. But when it comes to cultural goods—paperback books, records and feature films—the figures range from 80 percent to 95 percent. Despite the artistic prowess of the National Film Board, Canadian television is a complete rout, with *Charlie's Angels* and *Three's Company* easily overrunning the poorly financed Canadian shows. Faced with such powerful capitalist armies to the south, Canadian theater troupes fight guerrilla actions in localities like Blyth. Quite naturally they denounce dead Bardism and call for subsidies to companies doing Canadian plays.

Right now Canadian artists can still feel they are fighting imperialism when they try to preserve regional culture against television culture; that they are fighting foreign domination when they fight to get a local magazine on the newsstand next to *Cosmopolitan*. But as Canadian capitalists grow stronger they are proving themselves capable of creating their own national media to peddle their own meaningless pap. And soon Canadians will be up against it the way we are here, where *Cosmopolitan* and *Three's Company* are foreign in a much more profound sense.

Barbara Garson is the New York-based author of *MacBird* and *All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work* (Penguin Books). She also writes for *The Village Voice*, where a version of this piece first appeared.



This is provincialism in the most self-conscious sense.

for us they got some religion." As an Acadian confronted by the census taker ("It's worse than confession") *La Sagouine* is stumped by limited choice of nationalities: Canadian, English, French Canadian, Quebecois. Nothing fits.

Indigenous Canadian theater

Game

Continued from page 16

dle of each row; a waterworks and electric company in the same places; and ascending rents and property values around the board.

The parallels are obvious. But there are differences too: the properties have no names; there is no Chance or Community Chest; the name is not the same.

But even so, Charles Darrow doesn't merit much credit for the game's evolution. Lizzie Magie made some copies of her game and dozens of people, mostly Quakers in the mid-Atlantic states, played, enjoyed and modified the game in the following years. What Lizzie Magie created thus became essentially a folk product, in which many people played a role. When Magie's small supply of boards was used up, people began drawing their own on linen or oilcloth, giving names to the streets, using thimbles and buttons for markers and altering the rules as they played.

One key group of players gathered in 1929 around Ruth Hoskins, a teacher at the Atlantic City (N.J.) Friends School. Hoskins had learned the game in Indiana from her brother, who learned it at college. By then, it had already been renamed Monopoly. Hoskins taught it to her acquaintances, mostly couples from Atlantic City and Philadelphia. These players decided to give the properties familiar local names, such as Boardwalk, Vermont, Oriental and Marvin Gardens. (It was later misspelled as as Marvin Gardens by the person who taught Charles Darrow how

to play.) They also added the Community Chest, the \$200 bonus for passing GO, and the "Get Out of Jail Free" cards.

None of these people were interested in trying to sell the game, even though almost everyone who learned to play it became fascinated with it. "We weren't business people," Ruth Hoskins said primly 40 years later. "We were schoolteachers. It was a good game the way it was." Another early player, remembering the anti-capitalist origins of the game, said it was a point of honor among early devotees not to think of commercializing it.

But if they didn't want to sell it, Ruth Hoskins and her friends did enjoy sharing Monopoly. Ralph Anspach's research has established that about a year later members of Hoskins' circle taught the game to a young man living in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. Charles Darrow, one of his tutors remembered with considerable understatement, "showed a great deal of interest in it." He did indeed, but he also lacked scruples about trying to profit from the game. In late 1934 he sold it to Parker Brothers as his own invention... the rest is history, or at least mythology.

Once Parker Brothers discovered Darrow's deception, they bought up all the early Monopoly sets they could find and paid Lizzie Magie, now Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, \$500 for the rights to her Landlord's Game. Then they began their immensely successful campaign of propaganda for the official line that Charles Darrow was the inventor of Monopoly. They did this most of all to protect their right to exclusive control of the game, for if it could be established that Monopoly had been made and played

before they produced it, the game would be in the public domain, beyond their exclusive control.

This cover-up was so successful that Anspach found only one article that penetrated it. In the Jan. 27, 1936 *Washington Star*, there is an unsigned article about Lizzie Magie Phillips, then a gray-haired matron living in Arlington, Va., and her games. The article, besides identifying her as the originator of Monopoly, features a photo of her holding the boards from two of her earlier editions of the game, one of which clearly has the word Monopoly on it in large letters. She was still a follower of Henry George, the article noted, and did not regret losing the fortune from the game that Parker Brothers and Darrow were reaping. Except for this short article, the official version of the game's history has gone unquestioned by

dozens of reporters and writers who have published articles and comments on the game over the years. This includes coverage in the most prestigious periodicals in the publishing industry, including *The New Yorker*, the *New York Times* and others.

But this hidden history has now, thanks to the work of Anspach, been recovered and made public. In late August, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco accepted Anspach's evidence and ruled that Parker Brothers has no right to exclusive control of the term Monopoly. Thus the professor can sell his Anti-Monopoly whether the company likes it or not.

Parker Brothers and its corporate parent, the General Mills Fun Group, has said it will carry its case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

There is more in this court ruling than just vindication for

Ralph Anspach and his "brain-child." There is also a picture of reality; what Anspach's research shows is that while Charles Darrow did not "invent" Monopoly, neither did any other one person. Lizzie Magie Phillips started it. But the game evolved from the playing and tinkering of hundreds of other people over three decades. Maybe that is how the game came to evoke the commercial spirit of our culture so well; it is not only in the public domain, it may even be said to embody our public domain.

But I still say Boardwalk and Park Place are worth more than any other two monopolies and all four railroads put together.

Chuck Fager writes regularly for several weekly publications, including the *Boston Phoenix* and *Washington, D.C.'s City Paper*. He has played Monopoly for many years.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Beth Maschnot.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

October 1-2

Democratic Socialists of America: Conference on left politics for the '80s "Turning Things Around." Participants: Noam Chomsky, Michael Harrington, Stanley Aronowitz, Cornell West, Kate Ellis and others. Rutgers University, Friday, 2-10 p.m. "ledge"; Saturday 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Rutgers Student Center. For information, call (201) 247-6768 or (201) 932-7589.

gers Student Center. For information, call (201) 247-6768 or (201) 932-7589.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 1-3

National Conference, "Implications of a Nuclear Freeze." Join Admiral LaRocque; Rev. Robert Drinan, Director, ADA; Representative Jonathan Bingham; William Winpisinger, President, IAM; Michael Harrington, Chair, DSA; Richard Healey, Director, Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy. Registration-FREE. NEA Center. Sponsored by—Student Alliance for an Immediate Freeze, ADA Youth Caucus, Student NEA, USSA, DSA Youth Section, Young Democrats. Information: (202) 638-6447.

CHICAGO, ILL.

October 3

Women Organized for Reproductive Choice presents a tribute to Rosie Jimenez, the first victim of the Hyde Amendment that cut federal funds for abortions. The program includes a dramatization of the "Herstory of Reproductive Rights" and feminist singer Kristin Lems. 3 p.m. at Cross Currents, 3206 N. Wilton. Childcare available.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

October 8-10

Celebrate labor education at Local 189's 60th Anniversary Conference, District 65's UAW, 13 Astor Place. Speakers: Tony Mazzocchi, Cheryl Schaffer, Roger Keeran, Miles Galvin, Kathy Kahm, Michael Law and David Dyson. Plus workshops, films, and a party. Call Cydney Pullman, (212) 674-3322 for more information.

Mexico

Continued from page 9

failed economic policies. Would you in any way agree?

I think that both the government and the banks are responsible for the present crisis. The current situation is in many ways traceable to the policies of President Lopez Portillo, who, during his first five years and nine months in office did little to improve the economic status of the majority population. And on the other hand the banks directly organized the debilitating financial speculation and dollar outflow of the past period.

The private sector claims that many in the PRI are guilty of exporting huge sums of dollars out of the country and that the move against the banks was a diversionary one.

Yes, there are many government officials who have gotten rich by speculating with dollars. But the nationalization of the banks was an emergency measure taken by the president to stop what had become a conspiracy against the peso. I am sure Lopez Portillo never imagined he would have to take such a bold step. But he had to act as the representative of the state to literally save the present system. The financial bourgeoisie in Mexico had broken away from the rest of its class and in a sense began to enrich itself at the expense of the system itself.

Will the Mexican government give in to pressure being exerted at the moment by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)? With the nationalization of the banks the formal talks with the IMF came to a halt.

But we all know what the IMF wants, so the debate continues. As usual the IMF says it can improve the economy by putting a brake on the economy, cutting back public spending, freezing salaries, freeing up prices and taking other unpopular measures. But we have already been through all of that. In fact almost all of Latin America is now in a severe crisis because of these sort of measures always favored by the "Chicago Boys."

Mexico now has the largest foreign debt in the world—more than \$80 billion. The interest alone on this debt is about \$14 billion dollars a year. Mexico's income from its oil exports is also about \$14 billion a year; in other words, just enough to pay back the interest. Income from other exports is less than \$4 billion a year.

So the truth is that with the IMF or without the IMF, Mexico cannot pay off its foreign debt. Therefore, what is absolutely necessary is a moratorium on the payback of the debt, let's say something like an 18-month grace period. This would give Mexico and countries like Brazil, Peru and Bolivia a breathing period. During this grace period we could figure out some alternative solution. We poor countries can no longer afford to pay. The banks need to collect or go broke. We poor countries must form a united front to force changes in the world money system or there will soon be a global crisis of unpredictable proportions.

Recently, U.S. Ambassador John Gavin expressed some reservations about the nationalization of the banks and he accused the Central Bank director of being a "leftist." Are you expecting more political pressure from the U.S.?

Sure, they are pressuring us, but it's not going to be easy for Washington. The cri-

sis in Mexico is grave but so is the one on the northern side of the border. And now Mexico will be able to buy fewer American goods and that will affect the U.S.

The differences between the U.S. and Mexico over Central America are serious and it is logical to expect the U.S. to exert some financial and political pressure to try and modify the Mexican stand on El Salvador and Nicaragua. In addition, the Reagan administration's economic attack against American workers is also being felt by Mexican workers; our economy is 70 percent dependent on the U.S. for foreign trade.

President-elect Miguel De La Madrid takes office in December. He's a graduate of the Harvard School of Business and is known to be very conservative. What impact will he have on the future of the nationalized banks?

There are those in the government who already want to water down the expropriation, mostly by allowing the private sector to somehow participate in the running of the banks. But the government itself doesn't have the strength and clarity to carry this out. It will depend on the ability of the left to mobilize and exert pressure. And there are other sectors within the PRI itself who oppose any backward movement on the banks, and they too will have to mobilize. The future is very much up in the air. We in the PSUM have just helped to form a broad united front to present a left response to the crisis. And we are trying to reach out to those other progressive forces outside of the organized left.

As Lopez Portillo's term of office comes to an end, do you think he has secured his place in history by nationalizing the banks?

Oh yes, Lopez Portillo will be remem-

bered for taking over the banks. But he will also be remembered for a number of other things. During the first five years and nine months in office, Lopez Portillo carried out economic policies that directly contradict the sort of progressive policies that would lead to bank nationalization. For this he will also be remembered. He accomplished some positive objectives, however. He accepted the legalization of leftist opposition parties, he implemented political amnesty and he has met the U.S. challenge in Central America.

But in short, Portillo will be remembered as the president who most allowed the country's financiers to amass illegitimate fortunes, and he will be remembered as the president that most hurt the same financiers.

Mexico has a foreign debt of \$80 billion, there is something like 50 percent unemployment, inflation is at 70 percent, you are being pressured by the U.S. and the IMF and yet you give the impression of being optimistic. Is that correct?

Yes it is. I have a lot of hope for the future. Our crisis is very sharp, but our crisis has taught us a lot. It has swept away a whole array of myths and there are many more than soon may disappear. The left has many of the answers to solving the present crisis and that is very advantageous to us. This crisis can be overcome and that can happen with increased politicization and increased popular participation. The left, in many ways, now has the initiative.

Marc Cooper is news director at KPFF in Los Angeles. He has won a number of awards for his reporting on Latin America. Paz Cohen is a correspondent for WHUR in Washington, D.C., and is currently based in Mexico City.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

ASIA OFFER: BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS, Vol. 14 (four issues) \$15. #1. Asian modes of production; #2. Japanese fascism, Micronesia; #3. Taiwan repression, South Asia; #4. Philippine martial law, Kampuchea, agribusiness. Subscriptions \$20, free list. RCAS, Box R, Bertoud, CO 80513.

THE LEFT INDEX: "A quarterly index to periodicals of the left" provides subject access to literature written from a left perspective (includes In

These Times). Ask your library to subscribe now. \$50/yr. The Left Index, 511 Lincoln St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

HELP WANTED

JOURNALIST/CIRCULATION DIRECTOR—Multinational Monitor, a monthly magazine exposing the activities of giant corporations, seeks person to complete small staff. Duties: write articles, edit, promote publication. Public interest salaries, health plan, two-week vacation. Write P.O. Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036, or call (202) 833-3932. Deadline: Oct. 15.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS in-stock & custom-printed (union made). Free stock catalogue, wholesale custom printing prices. Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976, (201) 538-6676.

"STOP THE ARMS RACE NOW!"

"Nuclear Free Zone"; "Work for a Nuclear-Free World"; "Freeze Nuclear Weapons"; "Make Love, Not War"; "Solidarity" (Polish); "Beware the Actor" (Reagan graphic); "Let Them Eat Jellybeans"; "Money for Jobs, Not for War"; "Politically Cor-

Free Catalog



English and Spanish language books and periodicals from the USSR, other socialist and developing countries.

Write or call for your copy today!

IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS

320 W. Ohio St.
Chicago, IL 60610 312/787-9017

rect"; "Question Authority"; "Take the Toys Away from the Boys—Disarm". Buttons: 2/\$1; 10/\$4; 50/\$15; 100/\$25. Ellen Ingber, P.O. Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

VOLUNTEERS

PARTNERS FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE seeks U.S. and international volunteers for one year social justice ministries. Begin January and September. Box 15, 4920 Piney Branch Road NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

HOME COMPUTER BUSINESS under \$500 with best available software discounts. Information \$3, refundable. Andrew Savage, 311 Montford, Attn. Prout, Asheville, NC 28801.

Donald Shaffer Associates, Inc.

All forms of Insurance

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 Grace Ave.
Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005/516-466-4642

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 489-4444

Wear ITT This Summer!

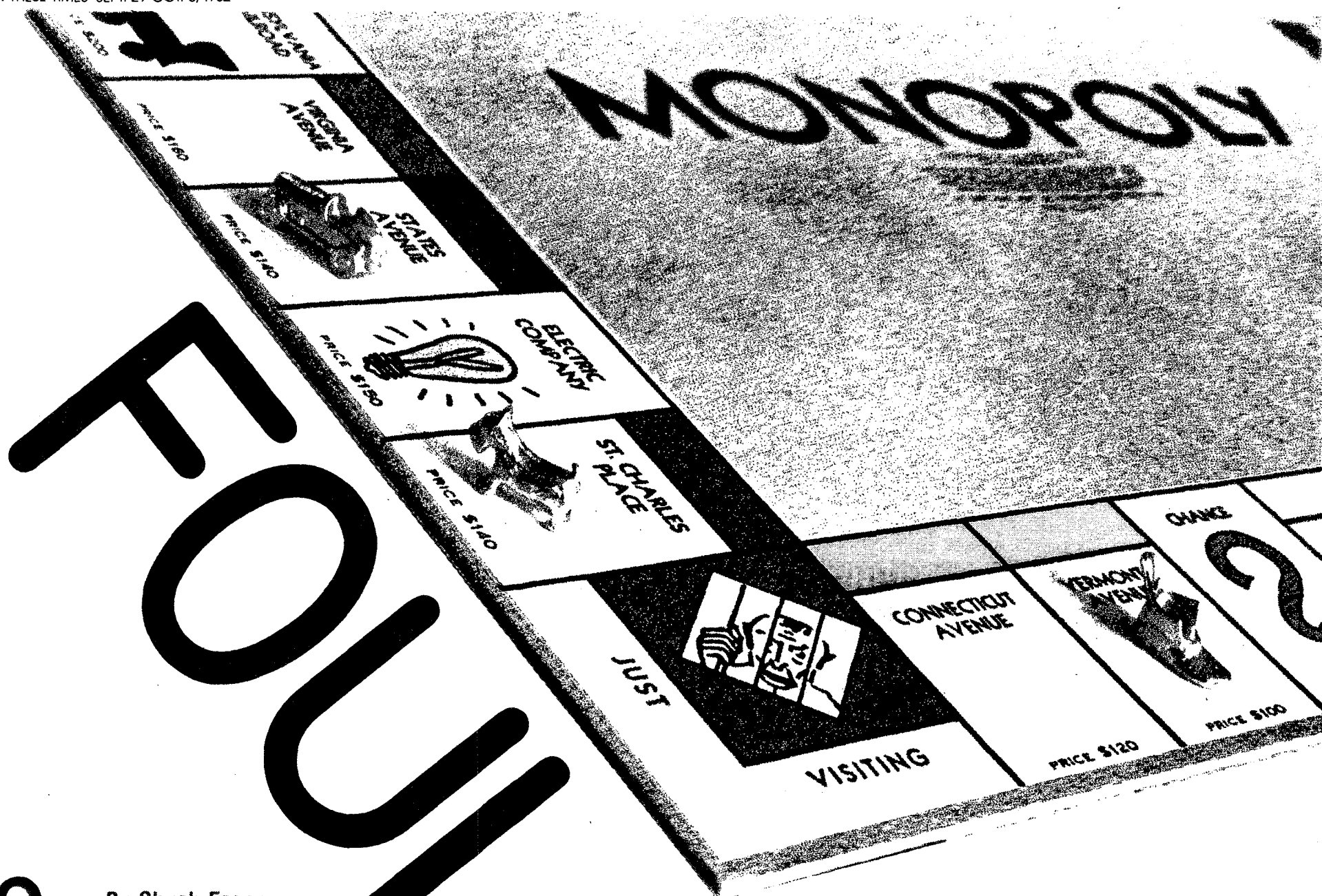
In These Times T-shirts and hats are now available. Wear them this summer and stay cool while publicizing your favorite newspaper.

T-shirts:
X-L black and red
L black, light blue and red
M black and light blue
S black, light blue, tan and yellow
Specify 1st and 2nd preference \$6.95 each postpaid.

Red or blue mesh hats are adjustable and come in one size. \$5.95 each postpaid.

Special Offer:

Buy a T-shirt and a hat together for just \$11.00.
ITT, Box A, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.



By Chuck Fager

One of the longest and most complete cover-ups in modern American history is finally coming unravelled. I'm not talking about filling in the 18-minute gap on Richard Nixon's famous Watergate tape, nor of establishing the identity of Deep Throat.

No, this cover-up was longer than Watergate, more successful than Watergate, and has left its mark on two generations of Americans. I'm talking about the cover-up of the true origin of Monopoly.

That's right, Monopoly. The number one best-selling American board game of all time; the foundation of the long-running prosperity of Parker Brothers; the game practically all of us grew up with.

According to Parker Brothers, Monopoly was the "brainchild" of one Charles Darrow, who thought it up in his Philadelphia kitchen while he was unemployed during the Great Depression and then made millions from its unprecedented success. Most of us have read this account as an introduction to the game rules, in any one of scores of magazine articles on the game, or in Maxine Brady's "definitive" 1974 tome, *The Monopoly Book*.

But the story is a lie. Darrow did *not* invent Monopoly; he stole it, and lied to Parker Brothers about being its creator. When the company discovered the lie, the game had already become a best-seller and was pulling Parker Brothers back from the edge of Depression-induced bankruptcy. But rather than risk losing control of its hottest property, the company joined Darrow in a campaign to bury the game's true origins.

For almost 40 years, this campaign succeeded brilliantly. But now the truth

Photographs by Paul Comstock

is seeping out, thanks to the research and struggle of Ralph Anspach, professor of economics at San Francisco State University. Ten years ago Anspach invented a game called Anti-Monopoly, in which players competed to see who could most effectively bust up imaginary corporate monoliths. Parker Brothers didn't cotton to either the game or Anspach's name for it and sued to stop him from selling it. But Anspach countersued, charging that the name Monopoly predated Parker Brothers' game, and was thus in the public domain. While doing research for his suit, Anspach discovered the true story of Monopoly.

Monopoly was first called The Landlord's Game. Its inventor was a Maryland woman named Lizzie Magie, who was granted U.S. Patent Number 7,486,227 on Jan. 5, 1904, 30 years before Charles Darrow supposedly thought it up. Magie was a believer in the anti-capitalist economics of Henry George, who taught that speculation in land values was at the root of modern society's social and financial problems. Her game was aimed at exposing these evils.

The sketch of the gameboard filed with the Patent office shows striking similarities to the present game. The Landlord's Game included four corner spaces, especially the Jail and "Go to Jail" in opposite positions; four railroads, one in the mid-

Continued on page 14

PLAY

